

CONCEPTUALIZING MULTILINGUALISM
IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, *c.* 800–*c.* 1250

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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CONCEPTUALIZING MULTILINGUALISM IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, c. 800–c. 1250

Edited by

Elizabeth M. Tyler



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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>JML</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval Latin</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SSRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004)
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–64)
S	Peter Hayes Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), revised edition, ed. by Susan E. Kelly, currently available online at < http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html >
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

ENGLAND AND MULTILINGUALISM: MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Elizabeth M. Tyler

The UK has been a multi-national and multi-cultural society for a long time, without this being a threat to its British identity, or its English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish cultural and national identities.

*Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship*¹

This present volume, with its focus on the Middle Ages from the ninth century to the thirteenth, is a contribution to the historical study of multilingualism in England. The volume's engagement with the past grows out of a particular linguistic and political present which shapes the questions its contributors pose, the approaches they take, and the arguments they offer. Rather than providing an overview of each essay, this introduction aims to situate the study of medieval English multilingualism in the contemporary language politics of England within Britain and within the European Union and in the context of the rise of English as a global language. This objective entails considering the two-way relationship between our present experience and our study of the past — a consideration which simultaneously recognizes how the present shapes our view of the past and insists that the past can contribute to current debates about multilingualism in contemporary England and more widely. Over fifteen years ago, in a broad-ranging survey of multilingualism in the modern world, John Edwards insisted on the need for a historical dimension in sociological, psychological, and sociolinguistic studies of the phenomenon. For Edwards, present day multilingualism

I am grateful to Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Stephen Church for generous reading of drafts of this introduction, to Henry Bainton for the reference to and discussion of *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship*, and to Máire Ní Mhaonaigh for bibliographical suggestions.

¹ *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship*, Home Office Publication (2007), p. 25.

and language politics cannot be understood if we falsely imagine and then appeal to a past where monolingualism was the norm.² In providing such historical perspectives from the English Middle Ages, the papers in this volume intervene in and contribute to current debates about multilingualism.

In writing this introduction, I have deliberately focused on England rather than Britain or the Anglophone world more broadly. This move stems both from a desire to attend to the relationship between the present and past of the language politics of England and from a recognition that these present politics are different outside of England — in Britain, in the EU, in the Anglophone world, and with regard to global English. From the perspective of the UK, moreover, my focus tries to avoid the conflation of English with British. At the same time, the language politics of English cannot be understood solely from within England. Although debates outside England about the status of English have different contours and inflexions, they speak to and impact on the situation in England — hence the focus on England within a series of wider international contexts.

Life in the United Kingdom *and the Symbolic Value of Multilingualism*

It is in the context of an interest in how the present informs our study of medieval multilingualism that the UK official history, written for new immigrants seeking citizenship and ending with my opening quotation, proves a revealing starting point. *Life in the United Kingdom* is largely a practical introduction to life in modern Britain — advising on such matters as how to access the National Health Service, send children to school, and pay taxes. It opens, however, with a history of the UK in which early and medieval Britain, and England most especially, are offered as models of inclusivity. Not only are England and the UK depicted as the outcome of a series of migrations, conquests, and settlements (Celts, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, and finally the Normans), but *Life in the United Kingdom* lays particular stress on language. Up to the end of the Middle Ages, its narrative is a story of the successive arrivals from the Continent into Britain of speakers of different languages, followed by the triumph of English, represented as a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Norman French. It seeks to find in the past both a paradigm for and the foundations of a modern Britain, which is predominantly English speaking but multicultural both in its inclusion of the Scots, Welsh, and Irish alongside the English and in its openness to new immigrants.

² John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London, 1994), pp. 206–07.

The linguistic narrative of *Life in the United Kingdom* bears very directly on the question of why, at this point in English history, we seek to recover the multilingualism of its Middle Ages. The affinities between the multilingual Middle Ages of this volume and those of *Life in the United Kingdom* alert us to the necessity of interrogating our own investment in medieval multilingualism and its relationship to modern politics, particularly the linguistics politics of English. In this regard, it is important to be clear how I am using the term ‘multiculturalism’. The political valence given to the term in *Life in the United Kingdom*, where multiculturalism involves the promotion of inclusivity in relationships between dominant and minority cultures, is one which I will take up here. I will not attempt to strip it of its ideological weight so that it denotes, in a more neutral way, a society in which different cultures mix — although several contributors to this volume use the term very productively in this way. Multiculturalism is not, moreover, the subject of this current introduction or volume: rather I am concerned with current debates about multiculturalism (hence my use here of the term specifically as it applies to contemporary politics) as one of the contexts in which we come to study the multilingualism of medieval England. In drawing attention to this context, I am not assuming that a scholar whose work opens up the multilingualism of medieval England seeks to find a multicultural past — simply that our early twenty-first-century experience of cultural diversity (alongside other factors such as the falling away of foreign-language learning in English schools) has given multilingualism new symbolic value.

In the generation after the Conquest, Orderic Vitalis was also confronted with the meaning of multilingualism which he read as a symbol not of diversity but of conflict. Writing from the Norman monastery of St Evroult, Orderic, born in Shropshire in 1085 to an English mother and a French father, portrayed William the Conqueror’s coronation as a multilingual disaster. The new King was proclaimed in French and in English, as Orderic says in ‘una uoce non unius linguæ locutione’ (‘in one voice if not in one language’). But guards outside mistook the ‘ignotæ linguæ strepitum’ (‘harsh accents of a foreign tongue’) — the English acclaim — for an attack on William and set fires which spread, razing parts of Westminster. In figuring this disaster as a ‘portentum futuræ calamitatis’ (‘portent of future catastrophes’) caused by the Devil, ‘qui bonis omnibus contrarius est’ (‘who hates everything good’), Orderic turns William’s accession to the throne, effectively, into the conquest of the English.³ For modern-day scholars of medieval

³ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Majorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1968–80), II, 184–85.

England, multilingualism too has a symbolic value expressing something of what we desire to find in the past — regardless of our individual views of multiculturalism, of the place of England within Europe, or of the rise of global English.

Linguistic Politics and Contemporary England

The contemporary linguistic experience of England and English is open to a number of forces which pull in different directions, which need to be laid out as we consider the symbolic value of medieval multilingualism. In what follows, my focus lies with English speakers of English: however, it is not always possible to disaggregate the English from the British, and many of the points raised here are of relevance throughout the Anglophone world. Although English is the dominant language throughout the UK, devolution (whereby specific political powers have been devolved to elected assemblies in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland) has drawn attention to the distinct circumstances by which English came into hegemony in each of these countries. The distinct pasts and presents of Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish have also been highlighted by devolution. Even within England, the speciousness of the English tendency to equate England with Britain has become increasingly apparent, necessarily impacting on perceptions of the place of English within the UK. Concurrent with this re-evaluation of the nature of the Union, England, like the rest of the UK, has experienced increased immigration of non-English speakers. As a result, alongside a diversity of cultural and religious practices, a greater number of languages have come to be spoken within England's borders, and language too has become implicated in debates about Britishness and Englishness.

Meanwhile, UK membership in the EU also has consequences for language politics within England. Since 2005, the European Commission has adopted a framework strategy for multilingualism which sets out the right of each EU citizen to their mother tongue plus two further languages. It furthermore specifically discourages the assumption that English will be the only common language when citizens of different member states or regions meet — 'English is not enough' — and encourages states within the EU not to equate foreign-language learning with learning English. Like the British Home Office, the Commission is interested not just in the practicalities of multilingualism, but in its relationship to identity. Setting out multilingualism as a source of the EU's political, cultural, and economic strength — 'our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding' — the Commission singles out

‘respect for linguistic diversity’ as ‘a core value of the European Union’.⁴ From this perspective, British and English monolingualism are of a piece with broader political scepticism about the value of EU membership and the island’s place within Europe.

Beyond the borders of the EU, as well as within them, the rise of English as a global language has obvious social and economic advantages for native speakers, who can move increasingly freely throughout the world without acquiring additional languages. The rise of global English, a legacy of colonialism whose impact is felt far outside the former British Empire, also increases the stake which those who are not English have in the language. English becomes the possession not only of those who live in the Anglophone world but also of those for whom English has become a lingua franca whether within their own multilingual state, such as in India, or as they communicate across the world. In the introduction to his powerful and much acclaimed translation of *Beowulf*, Seamus Heaney writes of himself as a man raised ‘within a cultural and ideological frame that regarded it [Irish] as the language that I should by rights have been speaking but I had been robbed of’. For him, translating *Beowulf* — going back to the origins of English — became a means to reclaim his ‘voice-right’ and for ‘an Irish poet to come to terms with that complex history of conquest and colony, absorption and resistance, integrity and antagonism’ which marks Ireland’s relationship with England. Heaney presents a compelling example of the investment those beyond England, whether English is their mother tongue or not, have in the medieval origins of English and how those origins can be made to speak, eloquently and challengingly, to the present.⁵

Although immigration ensures that England is becoming more multilingual on a basic societal level, and mobility within the EU brings English men and women into greater contact with speakers of other languages, the rise of English to become the global language of communication has enabled the English themselves not to learn new languages. As a result, despite the rise of polyglot immigrant communities, within the EU the British have some of the lowest rates of competence in a language other than their mother tongue.⁶ The English education system has increasingly turned away from the learning of foreign languages — as is witnessed by

⁴ ‘A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism’, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions (2005), pp. 2–4, <<http://europa.eu/languages/servlets/Doc?id=913>> [accessed 6 January 2010].

⁵ Seamus Heaney, *Beowulf* (London, 1999), pp. xxiii–xxiv and xxx.

⁶ EU documents do not separate out the English, Welsh, Scottish, and Northern Irish.

the government's 2004 removal of the requirement for all pupils to study a language to age sixteen. This move has the further effect of aligning language learning with social privilege since private schools have not abandoned the teaching of languages in the way the state sector has. Meanwhile, and in part as a result of the shrinking of language learning in secondary schools, language departments in universities have been steadily closing.⁷ Ultimately, individual non-immigrant English men and women become more monolingual as the world they live and work in becomes more multilingual.

The publication of two major reports — one by the British Academy and the other by HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England) — in 2009 underscores the impact of the English retreat from language learning on UK universities. HEFCE draws attention to the consequences of poor language learning for the employability and competitiveness of UK graduates. Economics is also of concern in the British Academy paper, 'Language Matters', which emphasizes that the investment of other countries in language learning means that 'for every four EU citizens working in the UK, there is only one UK citizen working in continental Europe'. In line with its role as the UK's national academy for the humanities and social sciences, the British Academy's paper emphasizes the implications of government language policy for UK researchers, maintaining 'that UK-born and -educated researchers lack essential foreign language skills, which limits their ability to engage with research topics requiring advanced knowledge of languages other than English'. Although 'Language Matters' is addressed primarily to the competitiveness of British academics within a global economy, the Academy's concern that 'UK universities may have increasing difficulty in incorporating an intercultural and global dimension in their teaching and research when a significant proportion of their UK-born students and researchers lack knowledge of other languages' is of obvious and direct relevance for the study of medieval England — both its multilingualism and its place within Europe.⁸

The long-standing problem that Latin is almost unavailable in state schools is now compounded. Firstly, the learning of medieval vernacular languages becomes more difficult when their modern descendants have not been studied, and secondly, researchers are increasingly unable to read scholarship not published in

⁷ See both reports cited in the following note.

⁸ The British Academy, 'Language Matters: A Position Paper' (2009), <<http://www.britac.ac.uk/policy/language-matters/position-paper.cfm>>; and Michael Worton, 'Review of Modern Foreign Language Provision in Higher Education in England' (HEFCE, 2009), <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/hefce/2009/09_41/> [both accessed 6 January 2010].

English. As university departments of modern languages are closed, the situation becomes harder to reverse. For scholars engaged in a period before the rise of the monolingual modern nation-state and for which a scarcity of literary and historical sources (especially in the early period) often requires comparativist methodologies, the current linguistic situation in England, as well as in the UK and wider Anglophone world, is of direct relevance. All of those who contributed to or read this volume have a stake in the multilingualism of modern England and the Anglophone world. For if monolingualism prevails, even within academia, at just the point when we recognize the rich linguistic complexity of medieval England (and its implications for England's place within Europe), that complexity will, perforce, disappear from view again.

Modern Monolingualism and Medieval Multilingualism

The symbolic value, for modern scholars, of medieval English multilingualism is, like that of multilingualism itself, complex if not contradictory. Multilingualism, both modern and medieval, has come into focus in a period when England, within its borders and within Europe and in the face of globalization, is exposed to greater and greater cultural and linguistic diversity. From such a perspective, multilingualism can seem a connection between the past and the present. At the same time, the English (like many other Anglophones), including those who go on to university and postgraduate study, are not only less and less likely to have another language, there is an increasing awareness that this lack of linguistic knowledge distinguishes them from their counterparts in Europe and globally. As scholars invested in the multilingualism of the past, we are inevitably particularly conscious of the state of language learning in England, as well as the Anglophone world more broadly, and we bring this to our study of the past. Thus the current interest in the multilingual English Middle Ages, which extends well beyond this volume, arises in a linguistic and political context which ensures that Anglophone scholars have become more conscious that the monolingual present of much of England does not reflect its medieval past.

Part of the symbolic value of multilingualism is that it reacts against the dominant paradigms of literary scholarship in the twentieth century. In studying medieval multilingualism, scholars in the last twenty years have become keenly aware of how nineteenth-century nationalism, with its dangerous confusion of a community of speakers of one language with the nation-state and the equally dangerous expectation that a nation-state should have one language, was formative for

the study of medieval literatures and languages. As Taylor brings to the fore in his contribution to this volume, medieval vernacular languages and literary traditions were looked to for the cultural roots of modern nations. As a result the basic facts that *Beowulf* recounts the life of a Scandinavian hero and that the earliest manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* was copied in England were overlooked, ignored, or even suppressed because they did not fit the narratives of nationalizing literary history. This inheritance lives on into the twenty-first century in institutional structures which separate the study of modern languages into separate departments which in turn create literary canons defined by language — such as *Beowulf* to Chaucer — rather than any actual medieval intertextualities which may cross both language and modern national boundaries. The study of vernacular literature has been more fully shaped by nineteenth-century nationalism than the study of history, where, for example, scholarship including England within a European perspective, such as that of Patrick Wormald or R. W. Southern, for example, thrived in a way that it has not for literature (though this scholarly tradition is also under threat from a decline in language learning in the UK, as Richard Evans urgently underscores in his recent study of British historiography of Continental Europe).⁹ Recently major steps have been taken away from viewing English literature as coterminous with literature in English. Elizabeth Salter's account of the multilingual and international context of medieval English literature persuasively opened up new perspectives.¹⁰ Since its publication over a decade ago, the high-profile *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, edited by David Wallace, has also been highly influential in this regard.¹¹ The conference from which this volume arises benefitted from Wallace's participation. His response — trenchant and generous in equal measure — has helped to inform and shape this introduction and the volume as a whole. Despite the model presented by Wallace, Salter, and others, literature in English remains a powerful paradigm for teaching and research and one which is at risk of becoming newly entrenched despite the recognition of its anachronism.

Reflection on the weight that nineteenth-century nationalism still exerts on the study of the Middle Ages returns me to the way *Life in the United Kingdom* might

⁹ Richard J. Evans, *Cosmopolitan Islanders: British Historians and the European Continent* (Cambridge, 2009). See especially the final chapter, 'The Language Problem'.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. by Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 1–100.

¹¹ *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999).

trouble us, or more constructively put us on our guard. That a multilingual medieval English past is official UK history in a publication promoting a multicultural present should remind us that there are present political inflexions, including but not limited to multiculturalism, to this multilingual past. There is an imperative to scrutinize ourselves as much as we scrutinize the earlier scholarship from which we learn and on which we build. Just as we, rightly, expose how the imperatives of nineteenth-century nationalism were, and still are, imposed on the medieval past, we need to be alert that our own discovery of a multilingual medieval past for England arises in a contradictory political context, which gives medieval multilingualism as great a symbolic value for scholars as the study of the origins of national literary traditions had for earlier generations. Finally, such reflection on multilingualism and politics across the nineteenth, twentieth, and now twenty-first centuries also encourages us to acknowledge that even when we move away from the preoccupations of previous generations of scholars, our work relies on, builds on, theirs.

Languages, Interdisciplinarity, Periodization — Collaboration

This volume works across the languages of England — primarily English, French, Norse, and Latin — and considers contact with Welsh and Irish. In this we are moving outside the paradigms of nationalizing literary history and linguistics. England emerges as much more integral within Europe — though here too we need to remain alert that the central place of England within Europe is a contested modern political ideal as well as a medieval experience. In taking this multilingual approach, the volume benefits from including scholars, Anglophone and non-Anglophone, from outside England. As befits a global language, whose past has become the past of many with little or no historical or contemporary stake in England, this is not a history of English multilingualism written solely from within modern England, or even the UK and its former colonies.

As the urgency expressed in the documents from HEFCE, the British Academy, and the European Commission make so evident, multilingualism is not just or even primarily a linguistic or literary matter, but one of cultural, economic, and political consequence — as much for the early twenty-first century as for the Middle Ages. Hence this volume takes an interdisciplinary approach to and does not offer a single model of multilingualism. Earlier work by linguists which opened up multilingualism (modern as well as medieval) and the work of historians whose discipline has been less formed by linguistic boundaries comes into contact with and is

turn informed by more recent perspectives from literary scholarship.¹² The methodologies employed cut across the disciplines of history, literature, linguistics, and manuscript studies and thus no one definition of multilingualism has been adopted or imposed. Rather each paper, whether concerned with individual or societal multilingualism, focuses tightly on the social phenomenon of multilingualism, and each is shaped by its interaction with the other papers in the volume. As a result, multilingualism is not narrowly identified as an individual fluency in more than one language, but rather as an ability to use more than one language, even in a limited way, within any sphere of life, from reading Latin psalms to negotiating a purchase from a foreign merchant. On a societal level there is also variety; multilingualism encompasses both communities which include individuals who speak more than one language and those which are made up of monoglots speaking different languages, as well as other configurations. A perspective from the study of literacy may be helpful here. An individual does not have to possess the skills of reading and/or writing to live in a world reliant on and formed by the written word; likewise a monolingual individual can live in a world which is multilingual in limited or extensive ways, from the use of Latin in the Mass (perhaps not understood by the congregation) to the multilingualism which necessarily marked the governance of England in the generation immediately after the Conquest.

In this volume, the lens of multilingualism provides insight into a diverse range of subjects. Trotter's study of the interpenetration of Anglo-Norman and English importantly brings to the fore 'multilingualism' as 'not so much a state as a *dynamic process* in medieval England. It is, in effect, what variationist linguists would call *change in progress*'. That dynamism is evident in such varied topics as the multilingualism of Anglo-Saxon poetic inscriptions (Bredehoft), the flourishing of Norse poetry in Cnut's English court (Townend), and the production of Domesday Book (Baxter). This range opens up the fullness, complexity, and vitality of the multilingualism of medieval England — which in its impact on administration, politics, intellectual history, poetry, and relations with other groups is more than a linguistic phenomenon. The contrast between the polyglot virtuosity of the literary culture of Æthelstan's court (Zacher) and the resistance to such virtuosity evinced in the determinedly un-Latinate nature of the English translations which emerged

¹² Lynda Mugglestone's *The Oxford History of English* (Oxford, 2006) including a chapter by Matthew Townend (see bibliography below), illustrates how multilingualism, past and present, has become an essential context for studying the English language. David Trotter's *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Woodbridge, 2000) is foundational for opening up the topic of medieval multilingualism in Britain from the perspective of linguistics.

from Alfred's equally polyglot court (Discenza) underscores the variability of multilingualism. Stephenson's work on the pedagogically ineffective Latin of the Benedictine Reform and Mortensen's on the writing of classicizing Latin history in the twelfth century both remind us that although Latin was a universal language, it was far from monolithic. The title of this book is *Conceptualizing Multilingualism* because no one definition is offered and because each paper in its own way examines and expands our understanding of the phenomenon.

The chronological range of this volume builds on recent trends in the study of history, and increasingly of literature, to step away from enshrining 1066 as a fundamental break between pre- and post-Conquest culture. Crick's study of the multiple languages which enabled communication between the English and the Irish extends from the reign of Cnut to that of John in its eschewing of any simple identification between language and ethnicity. Fulton's long view of the relations between British, English, Welsh, and French provides a nuanced and convincing account of the shifting status of English in Wales. Meanwhile, the work of O'Brien on legal language and DaRold and Swan on manuscripts insists on the continuing vigour and relevance of written English, well after 1066. Conde-Silvestre and Pérez-Raja combine linguistics with social network theory to situate the transition from Old to Middle English within a multilingual context, where Norse was highly influential. My own article examines the role the multilingual queens of England played in forging continuities across the literary cultures brought into contact by both the Danish and the Norman conquests.

England, on both sides of the Conquest, emerges as not uniquely multilingual within a European perspective but intensively and distinctively so. The inhabitants of England both were repeatedly conquered, by Scandinavians and Normans, and were conquerors themselves as they pushed the borders of England into areas held by the Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and Scandinavians. Not only do multiple varieties of vernacular Germanic, Celtic, and Romance languages come into contact with each other and with Latin, they do so in an environment where, unusually for this period, several of those vernaculars (English, Welsh, and Irish) were written languages. While English may owe something of its early move into the written word to interaction with Irish, the use of English extended not only into poetry, history-writing, and government, for example, but also, radically, into the field of biblical translation.¹³

¹³ On the possible influence of Irish on the use of English as a written language, see Patrick Wormald, 'The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its Neighbours', *TRHS*, 5th series, 27 (1977), 95–114 (p. 103), and David Dumville, 'Beowulf in the Celtic World', *Traditio*, 37 (1981), 109–60 (pp. 119–20).

Ian Short's view, much in evidence in this volume, that the confidence of English as a written vernacular influenced French, brings two dimensions of cross-Conquest multilingualism into view.¹⁴ Firstly, issues of the relative prestige of French and English are complicated: French does not simply take over from English as the vernacular of the elite and subsequently as a written language, but it is taught by and learns from English. Secondly, in a development of far-reaching consequences, the twelfth-century sees French, alongside other European languages, flourishing as a confident written vernacular. The impact of written English on the emergence of written French thus ensures that the linguistic developments of Anglo-Saxon England reverberated in Europe well after 1066. O'Donnell brings that impact into view when he reinterprets the apparently disparaging comments about Anglo-Norman French made by a clerk from the Île-de-France as an attempt to 'dislodge' vernacular history-writing from an insular milieu. Wright's intriguing suggestion that Abbo not only brought the learning of Fleury to Ramsey but that his experience of written English in the fens in turn influenced the writing of Romance at Fleury brings the *longue durée* of the relationship between written English and French into view. Multilingualism provides another way of seeing cross-Conquest continuities as well as the close links which bound England to the Continent and to Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. The chief contribution of this volume lies in simultaneously bringing together the study of multilingualism with interdisciplinary scholarship studying both sides of the Norman Conquest.

The enriched view of medieval English multilingualism which such a crossing of languages, periods, and disciplines entails requires collaboration. Collaboration enables the institutional structures of universities and the disciplinary, linguistic, and chronological formations they impose to become starting points rather than restricting intellectual paradigms which obscure medieval multilingualism. Not only does no single scholar have the expertise to open up the multilingualism of medieval England, no single discipline does either. While multilingualism poses a challenge to disciplinary formations and insists on greater permeability between them, this challenge can be met by collaborative work which builds on the varied foundations of our disciplines and combines our different linguistic and chronological expertises to ask new questions of the past. As such, the collaborative study of multilingualism participates in the continuing formation of our disciplines in a process which enables the study of the past to speak to the present.

¹⁴ Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 229–49.

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MULTILITERALISM IN ANGLO-SAXON VERSE INSCRIPTIONS

Thomas A. Bredehoft

The standard scholarly edition of *Solomon and Saturn* (E. V. K. Dobbie's Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records edition) prints line 89 as follows:

prologa prima, ðam is ƿ P nama

[the first [letter] of the words, for which 'P' is the name].

The following note is placed at the bottom of the page: '*Here and in the following lines B omits the runes.*'¹ Dobbie's manuscript B is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, whose eleventh-century record of *Solomon and Saturn* ends only five lines later, in the middle of line 94. Both its comparative completeness and the earlier, tenth-century date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422 undoubtedly account for Dobbie's decision to use it as his base text for the poem.² But the presence of both Latin letters and English runes in the 'Pater Noster' passage of *Solomon and Saturn* in CCCC 422 has always involved a textual problem. Considering only this line, it is obvious that pronunciation of both Latin 'p' and runic 'peorð' would result in unmetrical double alliteration in the b-line; other verses make it clear that only the Latin letters were original to the poem, as the

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by E. V. K. Dobbie (New York, 1942), p. 35; italics in original.

² CCCC 41 is no. 32 in N. R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); it is no. 39 in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Tempe, 2001). The *Solomon and Saturn* portion of CCCC 422 is Ker no. 70A and Gneuss no. 110; Ker dates it to 's. x med.' (p. 119), while Gneuss allows that it may be somewhat earlier (p. 38). *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. by R. J. Menner (New York, 1941), presents the texts from the two manuscripts in parallel.

proper alliteration of at least four lines depends upon the pronunciation of Latin characters, not runes.³

The presence of the runes in CCCC 422, then, must be understood as a textual accretion, with the added runes supplementing a prior, runeless text. The initial effort to insert runes presumably occurred in an earlier manuscript, although it seems most likely that the poem itself was composed only in the later ninth century.⁴ As such, it appears that we can conclude that the runes were probably first inserted into the poem in the first half (and perhaps more specifically, the first decades) of the tenth century. I believe, however, it is important to note further that line 89 of *Solomon and Saturn*, as it appears in CCCC 422, juxtaposes not only Latin letters and Germanic runes, but also Old English text and Latin text. In short, the addition of the runes at this point in the poem fascinatingly coincides with the poem's own explicit bilingualism, with its Latinity exemplified by both the Pater Noster and the phrase 'prologa prima'. Especially given this context, it seems appropriate to identify the simultaneous presence of both Latin letters and English runes as an example of Anglo-Saxon multiliteralism, the simultaneous use of different scripts.

Fascinatingly, even the runeless record of *Solomon and Saturn* in CCCC 41 hints at a similar (and utterly familiar) sort of Anglo-Saxon multiliteralism. In CCCC 41, the Latin words 'prologa prima' appear (in an eleventh-century version of Anglo-Saxon minuscule) as 'ploga prim.' where the initial 'p' has a trailing tail to the left of the descender (to abbreviate 'pro-') and the final vowel is apparently signalled only by a medial dot. These conventions of abbreviation, of course, are most appropriate to Latin texts of the period and are rarely used in Old English texts, where the conventions differ. Alongside the differences in abbreviation conventions, it is also well known that Old English texts throughout the period regularly used the characters 'þ', 'ð', 'æ', and 'p'; texts in the two languages so regularly employed different scriptural conventions and symbols that we should probably see multiliteralism as characteristic of most of the period in general. For

³ Specifically, the alliteration of lines 98, 111, 127, and 138 also demands the pronunciation of the characters according to the names of the Latin letters.

⁴ Although the inclusion of runes is incomplete in CCCC 422 (the h-rune is not present in line 138, nor the n-rune in line 108), runes and Latin letters missing from lines 108 and 123 cause alliterative and metrical problems that suggest deeper (that is, older) problems than an incomplete project of adding runes to the Latin letters in this particular manuscript. Patrick P. O'Neill, 'On the Date, Provenance and Relationship of the "Solomon and Saturn" Dialogues', *ASE*, 26 (1997), 139–68, has dated and localized the composition of *Solomon and Saturn* to Alfred's court; my essay 'Old Saxon Influence on Old English Verse: Four New Cases' (forthcoming) draws an identical conclusion from a different sort of evidence.

convenience's sake, I will label any script using the specialized Old English characters as 'Old English bookhand' to distinguish it from Latin scripts; what is crucial is that, perhaps as early as the seventh century, Old English bookhand and Latin script were probably already diverging, at least in the use of specifically English characters.⁵ In the tenth century, of course, the two-script system would lead to the well-known late Anglo-Saxon habit of generally using Carolingian minuscule for Latin texts, while retaining Anglo-Saxon minuscule for Old English.⁶ For virtually the whole of the period, the idea that different scripts were imaginatively linked to different languages seems to have been operative. In that sense, Anglo-Saxon multiliteralism seems always to have been connected to multilingualism.

But, to return to the problem of the runes in CCCC 422's copy of *Solomon and Saturn*, it is useful to note Seth Lerer's claim:

As the distinctively Germanic form of writing, runes made available to English readers something offered to no other European culture: a system of representation that could, in its formal and its functional differences from the Roman alphabet, embody the literacy of a tribal or national vernacular.⁷

Although Lerer's argument generally suggests that the notion of this 'tribal or national vernacular' was mobilized by authors from Bede to Ælfric in order to highlight and valorize the interpretive and spiritual power of Latinate Christianity (as well as its texts and textual practices), no such cultural and interpretive divide seems operative in CCCC 422's record of *Solomon and Saturn*, where the insertion of the runes seems rather to grant them equal power and equal status to the Latin letters.⁸ As such, we might recall Christine Fell's comment, derived from her

⁵ Christine E. Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon England: A Three Script Community?', in *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions: Grindaheim, Norway, 8–12 August 1990*, ed. by James E. Knirk (Uppsala, 1994), pp. 119–37 (pp. 130–36).

⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxv–xxvii gives a detailed historical description of 'two alphabets, one for Latin derived from caroline minuscule and one for the vernacular derived from Anglo-Saxon minuscule' that remains especially clear.

⁷ Seth Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Lincoln, NE, 1991), p. 11.

⁸ Interpretation of *Solomon and Saturn*'s runes has been varied. Menner (*The Poetical Dialogues*, p. 49), somewhat surprisingly writes 'though the runic letters [...] are simply those of Christian prayer, their very appearance as the personified conquerors of demons represents the last vestige of an ancient pagan Germanic tradition, according to which the runes themselves possessed power'. R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* (Brugge, 1954), p. 420, quotes Kenneth Sisam's review of Menner's edition: 'Clearly the runes [...] have nothing to do with the original poem. They were added beside the Roman capitals in one branch of the MS. tradition at a time when the heathen associations of the runes were themselves forgotten or harmless.' R. I. Page, *An Introduction to*

assessment of epigraphic evidence, that 'Wherever runic script occurs in these early Northumbrian Christian contexts, monastic or secular, it has the same status as roman'.⁹ Whatever else we conclude, these comments from Lerer and Fell remind us that we still have much to learn about the use of runes in Anglo-Saxon England.

As I have suggested, however, the central feature of the runes in *Solomon and Saturn* appears to be the way in which the separate scripts evoke the separate languages: Latin and Old English. The minimal explicit bilingualism of the poem hardly allows for a foregrounding of the differences between Old English bookhand and Latin script (despite CCCC 41's small hints of difference), and the runes serve to re-emphasize the importance of both languages in this portion of the poem. Strikingly, a similar sort of multiliteralism involving runic characters and Latin or Old English bookhand letters is somewhat frequent in the records of Old English verse (more frequent, I think, than in Old English prose), exemplified most famously by Cynewulf's runic signatures, but also seen in the runes of the *Riddles*, *The Rune Poem*, and *The Husband's Message*, as well as by the use of isolated runes for their name values (the æ-rune in *Beowulf* 520b, 913a, 1702a, and *Waldere* I 31a; wynn twice in *Elene* 788a and 1089a; the m-rune in *The Ruin* 23b and twice as part of Solomon's name in *Solomon and Saturn*, before 39a and 63a).¹⁰ In these other poetic examples (all recorded in tenth- or eleventh-century contexts), multilingualism does not immediately appear to be at issue: the runes in these poems seem much more clearly to be included as a kind of cryptic or riddling script, 'one more system of scriptorial cryptography: a way of coding messages or numbering

English Runes, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 187, writes: 'The scribe of the MS 422 version wanted to stress the individual letters of the prayer, and so added the runic equivalent before each roman character. [...] The effect is distinctive and striking', suggesting only that the presence of the runes is only visually emphatic and effective, even though Corpus 41's presentation of 'roman capitals distinguished [...] by mid-line points' was itself quite distinctive. My point here is that the status of the runes as an accretion indicates that a sense of power is being brought to the runes via their association with the letters of the Pater Noster, rather than being brought to the Latin characters via a prior association between runes and magical power.

⁹ Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon England', p. 130.

¹⁰ Examples from prose listed by Derolez, *Runica*, pp. 401–02, include the æ-rune (once) in the Tollemache Orosius, London, British Library, MS Additional 47967; wynn in Psalm 99 of the Junius Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27; the d-rune (forty-two times) and m-rune (ten times) in Aldred's gloss to the 'Durham Ritual', Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. iv. 19. To these should be added the m-rune (as the second element of his name) in Farman's colophon to his portion of the gloss in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct D. 2. 19 (fol. 50^v). All of these examples, it should be noted, date from the tenth century.

the pages of books written by the scribes of Christian doctrine'.¹¹ Yet the long history of runes in Anglo-Saxon (and related) manuscripts serves to remind us that even such 'cryptic' uses must have been generally inseparable from the Anglo-Saxon scholarly association of various scripts with various languages: English runes are most frequently preserved in manuscripts among collections of various alphabets: runic, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean.¹² The sometimes unclear historical or visual accuracy of some of these scripts, however, should not be taken to undermine my central point: here, too, differing alphabets were regularly understood, in the Anglo-Saxon world, to be most closely associated with distinct languages. In that sense, the linguistic division I have been describing in CCC 422's runes simply makes explicit what is implicit in the cryptic use of runes elsewhere. Indeed, what is most striking about Fell's characterization of Anglo-Saxon as a 'three-script community' is the pervasive association of two scripts, Old English bookhand and runic script, with Old English, while Latin script remained the norm against which both of these other scripts defined themselves and their linguistic associations.

But, for my purposes in this essay, it is crucial to note that the use of multiliteral texts involving runes was not a mere bookish idiosyncrasy of Anglo-Saxon manuscript culture: the surprising frequency of the association between multiliteral texts and Old English verse is also seen in the less well-known tradition of inscriptional verse. It is this inscriptional tradition that will be my focus below.

To the best of my knowledge, seventeen non-manuscript objects survive from Anglo-Saxon England which are inscribed with brief passages of Old English verse.¹³ No fewer than five of these feature multiliteral texts, usually juxtaposing Latin letters and Old English runes: the well-known inscriptions on the Franks casket and the Ruthwell cross, and the lesser-known inscriptions on the Lancashire

¹¹ Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, p. 16.

¹² Discussed extensively by Derolez, *Runica*. Derolez identifies forty-six relevant manuscripts, dating from at least the eighth century. Many of these manuscripts were produced in Continental scriptoria but nevertheless ultimately derive from an Anglo-Saxon context.

¹³ The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records include three inscriptional poems, on the Franks casket, the Ruthwell cross, and the Brussels cross. *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources*, ed. by F. C. Robinson and E. G. Stanley (Copenhagen, 1991) includes, in addition, the Lancashire ring, the Sutton brooch, and stones from Dewsbury, Falstone, Great Urswick, Overchurch, and one stone from Thornhill. I offer a fuller discussion of the inscriptional poetic tradition in my forthcoming book, *Authors, Audiences, and Old English Verse* (Toronto), including three other stones at Thornhill (two runic and one Latin-letter; see below), as well as stones at Carlisle, Wycliffe, Lanteglos, and also the Bridekirk font (also discussed briefly below).

ring, the Falstone stone, and the Bridekirk font.¹⁴ A consideration of these multiliteral poetic texts, I believe, has much to offer us for understanding Old English poetry's surprising position as a point of multilingual contact. Specifically, I will suggest that the multiliteral component of poetically inscribed objects also operated by making use of differing scripts' associations with differing languages: in short, multiliteral objects give us an additional perspective on Anglo-Saxon multilingualism, especially as it operated outside the scriptorium.

The Franks casket and Ruthwell cross are especially well known for their verse texts, entirely recorded in Anglo-Saxon runes.¹⁵ But both objects also involve more or less extensive inscriptions in Latin and, surprisingly, Latin words recorded in runes. Neither, it is important to note, includes Old English words recorded in Latin letters. In this sense, these inscribed objects function quite differently from the manuscript tradition, which very early on began to use Latin letters for writing English.¹⁶ Differences between these objects, however, suggest that we consider each in detail.

It is convenient to begin with the Franks casket, usually dated to the eighth century.¹⁷ Carved and inscribed on all four surviving sides and the top, the poetic portion of the inscription is confined to the front and the right side; the Latin portion of the text appears only on the back, where we read 'h e r f e g t a þ t i t u s e n d g i u þ e a s u' (entirely in runes; 'Here Titus and the Jews fight'), followed by the Latin text 'HIC FUGIANT HIERUSALIM' in Latin letters with the last word

¹⁴ A sixth poetically inscribed object, the Sutton brooch, is no. 114 in Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971); this brooch is sometimes understood as featuring an unread runic text as well (as Okasha, *ibid.*, p. 117, writes, "Text ii is uninterpreted; it consists of seven characters in a cryptic script, possibly based on the runic *futhorc*"), but I feel that, if this second text is indeed text of any sort, it is most likely pseudo-text: rune-like characters that cannot actually be construed. For a discussion of how pseudo-text inscriptions may have functioned in a literate economy in a later period, however, see Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'Literacy without Letters: Pilgrim Badges and Late-Medieval Literate Ideology', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 433–45.

¹⁵ Though I will discuss the Ruthwell cross and the Franks casket here, I will not primarily be discussing the verse inscriptions upon either object. For the Ruthwell cross, see Okasha, *Hand-List*, pp. 108–12 (no. 103); for the Franks casket, see *ibid.*, pp. 50–51 (no. 6); both objects are also discussed by Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*.

¹⁶ Perhaps as early as the seventh century; see note 5 above. But certainly Latin letters were used for English words by the first half of the eighth century, as in Bede's spellings of Old English words and names and the marginal addition of *Cædmon's Hymn* to the Moore Bede (Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.5.16) and St Petersburg Bede (St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS lat. Q. v. I. 18) manuscripts.

¹⁷ Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 50.

‘a f i t a t o r e s’ in runes, a phonetic spelling of Latin ‘habitatores’ (‘Here the inhabitants of Jerusalem flee’).¹⁸ Page has suggested that the mixed-language and mixed-script text of the back panel results from a carver who had a Latin copy text before him and who ‘translated and transliterated as he went’.¹⁹ But it seems likely that the Latin word which appears in runes actually serves a purpose connected to the use of the cryptic vowel runes in the poetic text on the right-hand side, presenting a further linguistic puzzle to the reader of the casket. The nature of the challenge must revolve almost entirely around the clash between the runic script used for ‘a f i t a t o r e s’ and the language of the word.²⁰ At one level the use of runes seemingly allows the casket carver to use the phonetic spelling (runes apparently free the carver from Latin conventions of spelling), but at another level, the use of runes also emphasizes the degree to which the two scripts were understood as being linked to the two separate languages. That is, while the Franks casket might be seen as evidence for Anglo-Saxon multilingualism simply because it features texts in Old English and Latin both, its use of runes as a cryptic or puzzling spelling system for a Latin word suggests that the two scripts were not merely seen as redundant and interchangeable scripts. If ‘a f i t a t o r e s’ is a puzzle, it is precisely because readers must expect Latin words to appear in Latin letters and Old English words to appear in runes, an interesting analogue to the manuscript collections of alphabets, which likewise associate different scripts with different languages. At the very least, the Franks casket itself seems to set up a language-script distinction in its own preceding texts: ‘a f i t a t o r e s’ is the very last word on the casket, and all the preceding texts have used runes for Old English and Latin letters for Latin words. That the pattern was broken by using a Latin word and runic script is interestingly paralleled on the Ruthwell cross.

No similar element of crypticness seems to attend the inscriptions on the Ruthwell cross, although the cross text has its own complexities and difficulties.

¹⁸ My transcriptions of texts will follow the standard convention of using spaced lowercase letters to indicate runes; uppercase letters will indicate Latin letters.

¹⁹ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 176.

²⁰ Undoubtedly, we should compare this Latin word cryptically written in runes on the Franks casket with the various scribal runic inscriptions found in Continental manuscripts discussed by Derolez, *Runica*, pp. 403–16. In particular, the runic text in London, British Library, MS Harley 1772 includes ‘a N c l i b r u M’ for ‘hanc librum’, prompting Derolez to note on p. 406, ‘The author of the inscription was [...] a poor Latinist’. But the non-appearance of the ‘h’ in Latin ‘hanc’ is strikingly reminiscent of the Franks casket’s ‘a f i t a t o r e s’, while the gender mismatch in ‘hanc librum’ is an error at the same level as the misconjugation ‘fugiant’ (for ‘fugiunt’).

While the runic inscription of verses from *The Dream of the Rood* is the cross's most well-known feature, it also has an extensive programme of Latin language inscriptions accompanying its images. Further, on the narrow sides of the top stone there also remain traces of a runic text, seemingly including the Latin word 'd o m i n æ' ('ladies') in runes.²¹ But where the programme of the Franks casket makes it clear that all of the text belongs together, at some level, here we seem to have three sorts of texts, working not together but separately: the runic Old English verse of *The Dream of the Rood*, the Latin-letter, Latin-language inscriptions, and the runic Latin of the top stone.

For various reasons, it seems to me that we should dissociate the poetic verses from the other inscriptions on the Ruthwell cross. Among the reasons for doing so are the fact that the upper-stone runes are oriented like the Latin letters of the Latin inscriptions, rather than upright to a viewer on the ground, as the poetic runes are, and the fact that the form of the s-rune consistently used in the poetic text (no fewer than fourteen times) is the mirror-image of that appearing in the upper stone's 'd æ g i s g æ f', suggesting the possibility of different carvers.²² I believe that we should, therefore, when considering the biliteralism of the cross, consider two moments: the probable original configuration of the cross (without the poetic runes) in which the cross was adorned with a complex iconographic

²¹ I follow here the transcription of Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 146, with italics representing runes that are legible but damaged or incomplete. The use of runic 'æ' for Latin 'ae' here appears to be strikingly non-phonetic, in contrast to what we saw on the Franks casket; see further below.

²² In 'Old Saxon Influence on Old English Verse: Four New Cases', in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. by Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, with the assistance of Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe, AZ, 2011), pp. 83–111, I argue that the *Dream* verse form was influenced by Old Saxon metrical forms, suggesting that *The Dream of the Rood* (including the Ruthwell verses) probably post-dates the *Heliland*, and is thus no earlier than the middle of the ninth century; compare E. G. Stanley, 'The Ruthwell Cross Inscription', in *A Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (Toronto, 1987), pp. 384–99 (p. 396): 'to seek the date of the inscription in the ninth century has nothing against it, and [...] on the whole I think it less unlikely that the text is of the second half of the ninth century and perhaps later, than of the first half or even earlier'. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 147, also inclines to the view that the poetic runes may have been added by 'a later carver'. Recently, Patrick W. Conner, 'The Ruthwell Monument Runic Poem in a Tenth-Century Context', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 59 (2007), 25–51, has suggested how closely the poetic inscription might suit a tenth-century cultural moment. This interpretation, of course, runs against the grain of readings of the cross as a coherent, unified monument; see, e.g., Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005).

programme, accompanied by Latin-language inscriptions in both Latin letters and runes, and the later moment when the Old English cross verses were added.²³

Taking the earlier moment first, we can note that the conventional date of the cross, in the early eighth century, makes it at least roughly contemporary with the Franks casket.²⁴ And like the casket, at that eighth-century moment, it seems that the cross's biliteralism was entirely concerned with Latin. Yet here we seem unlikely to be dealing with runes used cryptically or riddlingly. Thus, it may well be significant that only shorter texts, at this stage, appear in runes on the cross, while the longer Latin inscriptions on the cross make use of Latin characters. Given the probable eighth-century date of the cross, it is useful to compare the mixture of Roman and runic on the cross with the mid-eighth-century coinage of Beonna (usually understood as a mid-century East Anglian king), where (in different issues) purely Latin, purely runic, and mixed scripts are used for the legend 'Beonna Rex'.²⁵ For our purposes here, the unambiguously Latin word 'rex' is with some frequency rendered partly or wholly in runes (with varying spellings), and it seems possible that Beonna's subjects, while most of them were presumably not literate in Latin, might have had sufficient familiarity with a common Latin word like 'rex' to recognize it when written out phonetically in runes, justifying the use of runes on such coins.²⁶ Such a possibility, of course, fits well with the runes on the cross being used only for shorter texts, and especially for the clearest runic text, which most likely consists primarily of personal names and the likely-to-be-familiar Latin word 'd o m i n n æ': the biliteralism of this part of the cross may reflect a desire to have some of the cross's text readable to those literate in the runic script, as well as more extensive Latin texts readable only by an audience also literate in Latin characters. If the Franks casket anticipates an audience sufficiently familiar with

²³ The runic inscriptions on the top stone are notoriously difficult to read. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 146, transcribes the three more-or-less legible sequences as 'm [.] r [.] a | m [.] e r | d o m i n n æ' which seems to be clearly in Latin, and the linguistically indistinct sequences '[.] æ f a u æ þ o' and 'd æ g i s g æ f', although the latter has frequently been read as Old English. It seems best to work from the certainty that runes were used for Latin words at this point, and not base conclusions on the unreadable sequences.

²⁴ Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 109; Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 145.

²⁵ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, pp. 125–26.

²⁶ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 126, transcribes 'rex' on various Beonna-type coins as 'REX', 'Ress', 'REis' (noting that the final two characters of this particular text are uncertain), and 'r e x'. Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon England', p. 132, makes a similar comment about the readability of the Latin 'rex' to runic/Old English literates, noting that 'It is not hard to make the transition from an explanation "that is the Latin word for king" to "that means king"'.

both scripts, the earliest stage of the Ruthwell cross text appears to anticipate that some readers may be familiar with only one of the scripts. And yet it would appear that the use of runes for relatively brief and simple Latin words or phrases here may indeed correspond to a perception that runes could grant Old English literate rune-readers access to some of the cross's easier Latin texts.

The apparent addition of the poetic inscription to the Ruthwell cross, perhaps in the tenth century, would seem to attest to a continuing audience of readers literate in the runic script — as the likelihood that the verses are not merely transliterated from a Latin-alphabet text may suggest a rune-literate carver or designer.²⁷ Here, then, the act of adding the poetic runic inscription to the monumental cross, with its pre-existing Latin texts, must have served to widen the cross's reading audience even more, as well as literalizing the metaphor of the cross as an inscribed speaking object, since all of the verses upon the Ruthwell cross correspond to the cross's (first-person) speech within *The Dream of the Rood*.²⁸ Before the runic verses were added to the cross, it had nevertheless spoken, by virtue of the Latin inscriptions, but it began to speak in first-person English only with the addition of the poetic passages. The runes of the cross verses, then, serve powerfully (and literally) to Anglicize the voice of the (formerly Latin-speaking) Ruthwell cross, in a fashion notably similar to how the addition of the runes to *Solomon and Saturn* served to Anglicize the power of the Pater Noster, as discussed above. In that sense, the notion of redating the poetic Ruthwell inscription to the tenth century enables us to see a surprisingly precise analogue from the manuscript tradition.

But if the earlier portions of the Ruthwell cross text suggest a rune-literate audience in eighth-century Northumbria, we can apparently find additional evidence for such readers on the Falstone memorial stone.²⁹ Here essentially the same two lines of alliterative Old English verse are given in both Latin letters and runes. Both

²⁷ That is, the use of different palatal and velar g- and k-runes, as well as the ing-rune, suggests that the inscription does not derive from a process of comparing a Latin-letter text to a runic alphabet being used as a (presumably cryptic) substitute alphabet, although this use of runes clearly occurred in Continental manuscripts (see Derolez, *Runica*, pp. 403–16). The phonetic precision of the verse inscription may stand in contrast to the use of the æ-rune in 'd o m i n n æ' on the top stone, providing one further indicator that the two runic portions of Ruthwell may not share a single origin.

²⁸ For a discussion of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions in which inscribed objects speak in the first person, see T. A. Bredehoft, 'First-Person Inscriptions and Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 9 (1996), 103–10.

²⁹ For the date ('eighth to ninth century') and location of Falstone, see Okasha, *Hand-List*, pp. 71–72.

versions of the text are only fragmentarily preserved, but it is useful to offer a transcription of both texts in order to indicate, at least roughly, their layout:

+EO [.]	+ [.]
TA [.] AEF TAER	æ f t æ r r o e [.]
HROETHBERHTÆ	t æ [b e c] u n æ f t æ r e [.]
BECUN AEF TAER	g e b [.] æ d þ e [.] s a u l e
EOMAE GEBIDDADDER SAUL E ³⁰	

Combining the texts and relineating, we can see the poetic structure as follows:

Eo[.]ta[.] æftær Hroethberhtæ
becun æftær comæ; gebiddað þer saule.

[Eo[... set up] a monument for Hroethberht, for his uncle; pray for that soul.]

The Falstone inscriptions allow us to make some important observations about the use of the two scripts. First, as in the case of the Ruthwell cross, the runic text is not simply transliterated from the Latin letter text (nor vice versa, it seems). Runic æsc generally corresponds to two separate letters in the Latin-letter versions ('AE'), and the personal name 'HROETHBERHT' lacks the initial 'h' in the runic version, perhaps again indicating phonetic precision in comparison to the conservatism of spelling apparent in the Latin-letter text.³¹ Further, the thorn is used in the runic 'þ e [.]', corresponding to the Latin-letter 'DER', although runic 'd' appears to be used as the final character of the word appearing in the runic Thornhill III inscription as 'g e b i d d a þ'.

Page suggests that the Falstone carver 'though acquainted with both [scripts], was more at home in the roman' on the basis of his using the o- and e-runes together, where the æ-rune ought to have served.³² The differing treatments of æsc and æ are certainly intriguing, but it is also worth noting that, while the Latin-letter inscription is the first that readers encounter, appearing on the left-hand side of the stone, the runic text seems to have (at least in part) preceded it, as the Latin-letter text clearly flows or overflows beneath the text-space filled by the runes. If the carver was more familiar with Latin-letter spelling practices (as Page's comment suggests), it seems equally clear that he was much more able to control the space

³⁰ Transcriptions slightly adapted from Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 153.

³¹ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), p. 186, §461, suggests that the 'h' in such words 'is written in OE to indicate' that the following consonant is voiceless. If this is correct, then runic 'r' could presumably be used for both voiced and voiceless /r/, and the spelling convention may simply not have applied to runes.

³² Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 142.

used by runes than that taken up by Latin letters.³³ Notably, Fell includes Falstone as an example of the use of Latin characters for Old English, clearly not making use of what I called ‘Old English bookhand’ above: ‘Clearly the barred “d” (“ð”) has not yet floated his way’ and ultimately concludes that the carver’s use of Roman script is ‘perhaps not fully thought through’.³⁴

The most remarkable feature of the Falstone stone, however, is the side-by-side, Rosetta-Stone effect of its twin inscriptions, which surely suggests a twin audience, one literate primarily in runes and one literate in Latin letters.³⁵ Although not appearing on a single stone, it is probably worth comparing Falstone’s poetic texts to four apparently contemporary memorial stones from Thornhill, in West Yorkshire, three of which are strictly runic and clearly have poetic verses, while the fourth (very fragmentary) stone apparently has similar memorial verses recorded in Latin letters.³⁶ Thornhill, then, appears to provide support for Falstone’s

³³ Alternatively, we might imagine that the Falstone carver proceeded right across the textual area, filling the left-hand space with Latin letters and then the right-hand space with runes, before moving to the next line. Such a procedure might also result in the layout we now see, where the widths of the Latin letters force that portion of the text to take up much more space than the runic text.

³⁴ Fell, ‘Anglo-Saxon England’, p. 128.

³⁵ Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 72, suggests only that ‘The reason for the bilateral text may have been artistic, to exhibit knowledge, or because runes had become to some extent traditional on grave-stones’. Besides Falstone, one other inscribed object clearly has the same text twice in the two scripts: the Lindisfarne II stone (Okasha, no. 76; eighth century), with the name ‘Osgyþ’ in both Latin letters and runes. Other Lindisfarne stones (III, IV, VII, VIII) have two names, one in runes and one in Latin letters (as does a stone at Monkwearmouth), with the names sometimes appearing to be different. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, pp. 139–40, therefore interprets all of these as separate names for separate individuals, implicitly suggesting a commissioner and a person memorialized. Generally on these eighth- to ninth-century stones, the runic text is towards the top of the stone; the Latin-letter text is towards the bottom.

³⁶ The runic Thornhill texts are transcribed by Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 141, although below I will relineate them to show their metrical structure. Thornhill (runic) I has a poetic text as follows: ‘+ [.] þ e l b e | [.] t: s e t t <e> æ f t e | r e þ e l w i n i’ (‘Ethelberht set [this up] in memory of Ethelwine’). Thornhill (runic) II reads as follows: ‘+ e a d r e d | * s e t e æ f t e | e a t e i n n e’ (‘Eadred set [this up] in memory of Eadthegn’). Thornhill (runic) III has two poetic lines:

+ j i l s u i þ : a r æ r d e : æ f t [.] | b e r h t s u i þ e .
b e k u n | o n b e r g g i g e b i d d a þ | þ æ r : s a u l e

[Gilswith raised up a monument for Berhtswith on the burial site; pray for that soul.]
By comparison with these, the very fragmentary Thornhill (Latin) stone (Okasha, no. 116), transcribed by Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 118, can be relineated as part of the same apparent tradition:

evidence for literate audiences for the two scripts some time around the turn of the ninth century.³⁷

The implications of the public nature of such memorial inscriptions must be addressed directly. If the inscriptions upon memorial stones at places like Falstone and Thornhill are not expected to find a literate audience to construe the various characters into words and sentences, either script would serve perfectly well as a visible reminder or prompt.³⁸ Thus the simultaneous or side-by-side use of both scripts (either on a single stone, as at Falstone, or on similar stones, as at Thornhill) seemingly anticipates complementary audiences, separately literate in the two scripts. Fell's conclusion that 'Wherever runic script occurs in these early Northumbrian Christian contexts, monastic or secular, it has the same status as roman',³⁹ thus might well be modified by the recognition that such equivalence of status did not, apparently, extend to a complete overlap in terms of readers for these texts: those literate in one script might well have been less literate in the other. Of all the inscriptions so far considered, only the Franks casket clearly seems to anticipate a reader literate in both scripts; the early phase at Ruthwell (where complex Latin texts appear in Latin script, while shorter and perhaps simpler Latin texts are observed in runes), Falstone's double inscription, and even the Thornhill series seem to imply knowledge of runes in an audience less than fully possessed of Latin language and Latin script both. To put it in other terms, in all of the inscriptions addressed so far, we can observe that (1) lengthy texts in Latin use Latin letters; (2) lengthy inscriptions in Old English usually use runes; (3) some shorter inscriptions in Latin use runes; and (4) only in the case of Thornhill (Latin) have we seen

[.] A[E]F[T] | [..] OSBER
 [.....]BEC | [.....]
 [... monument for Osber....]

Note that Thornhill (Latin) appears to use two characters ('A' and 'E') for Old English aesc, suggesting again that Old English bookhand is not intended.

³⁷ Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 118; Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 141, dates the runic Thornhill III to the ninth century.

³⁸ As the frequently corrupted and unconstruable runic (or other) texts or pseudo-texts on coins suggest that 'text-like' and truly textual inscriptions were often equally functional for those who handled coins. In other words, if the audience of Falstone is not expected to decipher the text, but merely to recognize the presence of a text which could be voiced by recourse to memory, then either script would serve, but there would be no point to using both.

³⁹ Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon England', p. 130.

Old English appearing *only* in Latin letters.⁴⁰ The contexts in which the two scripts are used may well be similar, but the specific uses of the two scripts suggest at least somewhat differing communities of literates. Although the number of data points is smallish, the conclusion that runic literacy was (for at least some individuals) learned separately from instruction in Latin (and Latin script) seems difficult to avoid. And while the case may be more difficult to make, the pattern also may confirm that the two scripts were indeed each closely associated with the separate languages of Old English and Latin.

Dating more securely from the ninth century, the Lancashire ring also uses both runes and capital letters, presumably from Old English bookhand.⁴¹ The ring's text is transcribed by Okasha as:

+ æDRED MEC AH EAnRED MEC agROf

[Ædred owns me; Eanred engraved me.]⁴²

Perhaps because of the private function and effect of the text, the use of the combined scripts here appears to have more in common with the cryptic portions of the Franks casket than the far more public and visible Ruthwell cross and Falstone (and Thornhill) stones. Here the runes function simply as alternate characters within an otherwise Latin-letter or Old English bookhand text: a single line of Old English verse. It may be worth noting that at least three non-poetic inscriptions show mixtures of Latin letters and runes, a tenth-century stone shaft at Alnmouth, Northumberland (Okasha, no. 2, reading 'MYREDaH: MEH: WO-'); a tenth- or eleventh-century stone at Chester-le-Street, Durham (Okasha, no. 25, reading

⁴⁰ We do also see Old English memorial verses in Latin letters at Carlisle (Cumberland; Okasha, *Hand-List*, no. 23); Dewsbury (West Yorkshire; Okasha, no. 30); and Wycliffe (Yorkshire; Okasha, no. 144). Verse texts in runes are also found at Great Urswick and Overchurch. All of these, unassociated with other scripts, give less useful data for evaluating whether the scripts relate to separate realms. But note that the use of runes for (brief) Latinate texts (primarily personal names) on St Cuthbert's coffin fits into my outline of usage here, although no verse, of course, appears there. Cuthbert's coffin, like the Franks casket, I should note, may imply a readership literate in both scripts.

⁴¹ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, identifies this ring as 'the Manchester ring', but in R. I. Page, 'The Provenance of the Lancashire Ring', *Notes & Queries*, n.s., 48 (2001), 217–19, he has urged a return to the older name. The Lancashire ring is Okasha, *Hand-List*, no. 66. The first 'd' in Ædred's name is clearly shaped differently from the other 'd's, which have the form of the capital, 'D'. A small dot above the curving back of this letter may suggest it is to be read as 'ð', which would mark the script as Old English bookhand unambiguously.

⁴² Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 89; spaces added to indicate word-division and metrical structure.

‘EAD m | VnD’); and a ninth-century gold ring found at Llysfaen, Caernarvonshire (Okasha, no. 86, reading ‘+A | LH | ST | An’). It is striking that these seem clustered, with the Lancashire ring itself, in the ninth and tenth centuries, as were so many of the single runes in manuscripts of Old English poetry and prose identified above.

While it may be possible to read the Lancashire ring’s runes according to their name-values, it is probably fair to say that the logic behind the use of runes on this ring remains unexplained.⁴³ Though I cannot recall seeing it proposed before, the simplest explanation for the runes may be to take them as an anagram to be solved as ‘fægna’, that is, ‘Rejoice!’ Whether we have here a cryptic use of runes (as in the Franks casket) or runes standing in for their name-values (as in tenth-century manuscripts) may, in fact, be unresolvable; the vast differences in time, place, material, and purpose further add to the difficulties in drawing comparisons between the Lancashire ring and the various inscriptions addressed above.

Finally, however, we must also consider the Bridekirk font, which Page dates to the twelfth century. Here we find runic characters accompanying letters from Old English bookhand, but with a twist, as Page describes the runes as being ‘Scandinavian runes of a mixed type’.⁴⁴ Page’s transcription is as follows, with boldfaced, unspaced characters representing Scandinavian runes:

+rikarþ:he:me:iwr[o]kte:7:to:þis:me:rÐ:3er::me:brokte**⁴⁵

The bookhand characters are clear: eth and yogh, as well as the 7-shaped Tironian mark for ‘ond’. Likewise, despite the use of Scandinavian runes, the language and verse form seem to fit precisely within the late Old English verse tradition, which

⁴³ In Thomas A. Bredehoft, ‘A New Reading of the Lancashire Ring’, *English Language Notes*, 32 (1995), 1–8, I hypothesized a method of reading the runes according to their name-values. The use of runes for their name-values is notably infrequent in the inscriptional tradition; the most likely candidate for such a practice is the incomplete tenth- or eleventh-century cross at Plymstock, Devon (Okasha, no. 101), transcribed by Okasha, *Hand-List*, p. 106, as ‘ELEÞ’, with the comment ‘The text may be a personal name, ELEWYNN or ELEWYN [...]. In this case, it would be abbreviated, incomplete, or with Þ representing its rune-name’. This example is made especially hard to interpret because wynn was also a character in Old English bookhand. Okasha dates Plymstock to the tenth or eleventh century, which would accord well with the use of manuscript runes for their name-values in tenth century contexts; see note 10 above.

⁴⁴ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 208; Page also describes two Old Norse language inscriptions in Scandinavian runes that may show linguistic influence from Old English in Carlisle cathedral (p. 206) and in the church at Pennington (pp. 209–10).

⁴⁵ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 208.

allowed rhyme to supplement alliteration.⁴⁶ Here, the use of Scandinavian runes — which must be associated far more closely with Old Norse than with Old English, in the context of a text in the Old English language — offers us a fascinating potential snapshot of a different bilingualism, although Page suggests only that ‘Viking runes were so far naturalized as to be used by people who spoke and presumably read and wrote English’.⁴⁷ The simultaneous use of both runic thorn and bookhand *eth*, of course, reminds us that the complex text upon the Bridekirk font may not be a matter of simple ‘naturalization’ or transliteration, just as Page prefers to see the ‘Rikarþ’ of the inscription as more likely derived from a Norman than a Norse individual.⁴⁸ Though we should probably hesitate to attach too much significance to the Bridekirk font precisely because it is so unique, Page’s interpretation of ‘Rikarþ’ brings together a Norman craftsman, a line of late Old English verse, Scandinavian runes, and bits of Old English bookhand. Whatever else we conclude, a variety of languages and contexts seems to be brought together here, just as the text brings together separate scripts.

In *The Making of Textual Culture*, Martin Irvine interestingly discusses what he describes as the ‘hybrid textuality’ of Anglo-Saxon England, making the following claim in particular about Old English poetry: ‘most of the poems in the Old English corpus, as we have them in their written form, presuppose a larger network of Latin texts and textuality for their very articulation and intelligibility.’⁴⁹ I hope to have suggested in this examination of the inscriptional poetic records that the hybridity exhibited in some of the multiliteral poetic monuments may well operate differently from what Irvine envisions. Certainly, the later ninth- and tenth-century texts discussed here, from the Lancashire ring, to *Solomon and Saturn* (and many of the tenth-century runes embedded within Old English manuscript texts), to the Ruthwell record of verses from *The Dream of the Rood*, would appear to fit neatly into Irvine’s ‘hybrid textuality’: in these cases, it makes sense to see the inclusion of runes, as a script most closely associated with Old English, in Old English poetic contexts where the Latin textual substrate expresses itself most powerfully,

⁴⁶ See Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Early English Metre* (Toronto, 2005), for an attempt to describe the metrical principles of late Old English verse.

⁴⁷ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 208.

⁴⁸ Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 208, although Page describes the name as ‘the Continental Germanic name *Ricard* which is recorded in England from the middle of the eleventh century’.

⁴⁹ Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: ‘Grammatica’ and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 421.

especially the Pater Noster sequence in *Solomon and Saturn* and the extensive Latin texts on the Ruthwell cross. If I am right in hypothesizing an anagrammatic solution to the possible cryptic use of runes on the Lancashire ring, its closest poetic analogues would, of course lie among the riddles, which themselves have ties to Latin culture. These examples suggest a kind of ninth- and tenth-century literary bilingualism powerfully mediated, as Irvine suggests, through the manuscript culture of the time.

But I believe that the eighth-century examples considered here suggest that something quite different was going on at that earlier cultural moment. In the case of Falstone, the Franks casket, and the non-poetic portions of the Ruthwell monument, 'hybridity' may not so accurately describe the relations between either languages or scripts. Although it is likely that Old English bookhand had at least begun to develop before these objects were carved, it is notable that none of these early monuments makes use of it; the very hybridity of Old English bookhand, with characters derived from both Latin script and runes, makes it especially surprising to see Latin words written in runes, on both the Franks casket and the Ruthwell cross, but not a single *æsc*, *eth*, or *thorn* in the Latin-letter half of Falstone. As I argued above, these monuments seem most clearly to suggest the existence of differing audiences with differing literacies in the two languages, which suggests not a hybrid textual culture, but more an image of side-by-side textual cultures, primarily using different scripts for the differing languages. Falstone, in such an understanding, begins to look like a remarkable instantiation of the more general situation. Conversely, the use of runes for a few smallish Latin words on the Franks casket and Ruthwell cross may indicate that, while some readers were indeed literate in both languages and both scripts, carvers seem to have anticipated that runes could provide an *entrée* into Latinity for some readers: it begins to look as if English literacy was taught in the eighth century in runes, separately from Latin literacy (and Latin characters).

It is impossible, in such a context, to pass over David Parsons's remarkable hypothesis that the 'reform of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc' was either accomplished within, or at least dispersed through, the Anglo-Saxon monastic environment, perhaps beginning in the seventh century.⁵⁰ Indeed, Parsons's suggestion that 'A feeling that runic was a more flexible tool for the vernacular could explain in part why the Church was happy to preserve it at all alongside roman' would suit my readings of the Franks casket and early Ruthwell inscriptions with remarkable

⁵⁰ David N. Parsons, *Recasting the Runes: The Reform of the Anglo-Saxon Futhorc* (Uppsala, 1999).

precision.⁵¹ I would only go one step further to note that the use of runic for Latin on these two objects attests to a further cross-linguistic flexibility that was apparently afforded by runic script. The parallel may be only accidental, but it is striking that the use of Scandinavian runes on the Bridekirk font seems to attest to a similar cross-linguistic flexibility in a much later century. But as I have suggested, throughout the period, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have more or less habitually associated different scripts with different languages, and it is, in some ways, not so surprising to see multilingual texts so closely engaged with issues of multilingualism in the period.

Finally, it seems worth recalling that all of the inscribed objects considered here are those with inscriptions in Old English verse (even if I have not always discussed the poetic material explicitly). The fact that Old English poetry accompanies these inscriptions that attempt to negotiate the complex matrix of languages and scripts reminds us, I think, that poetry is always itself a heightened linguistic register. We may not find the verses of the Falstone and Bridekirk inscriptions to be especially literary, but it is at least in part their investment in poetic language that brings the charged issues of linguistic identity and difference to the forefront. In terms of sheer numbers of lines and literary quality, the manuscript tradition of Old English verse vastly outweighs the inscriptional tradition, but the inscriptional tradition nevertheless has much to offer us for an understanding of the range of cultural purposes to which Old English verse was put in Anglo-Saxon England — including, as I have argued here, the vexed question of the relationships between and the differing roles of the various languages and scripts used in the period.

⁵¹ Parsons, *Recasting the Runes*, p. 113.

WRITING THE MOTHER TONGUE IN THE SHADOW OF BABEL

Nicole Guenther Discenza

Any consideration of multilingualism must take into account resistance to multilingualism — in this case, the sometimes awkward relations between Latin and English. From 871 to 899, King Alfred the Great of Wessex ruled over a multilingual court: he surely grew up speaking English, but his stepmother and his assistants Grimbold and John were Frankish, his helper Asser was Welsh, he hosted Irish and Scandinavian guests, and he sponsored a translation programme that rendered Latin texts into Old English, as well as supposedly translating four Latin texts himself. Yet the works of Alfred and his contemporaries carry little trace of these other tongues.¹ They wrote *monolingual* texts. Despite the multilingual environment that Alfred's court must have been, most Alfredian works do not borrow heavily from Latin for syntax or vocabulary; moreover, those texts most closely associated with the name of Alfred are some of those that make least use of Latin. The texts display some variation in strategy, with some drawing more upon Latin models and Latin source texts, and others relying more upon

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¹ For a study of Alfred's translations within a wider historical and political context, see David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007); Pratt particularly emphasizes Carolingian influences and parallels for Alfred's work and sometimes touches upon Irish influences. For a detailed study of one particular Alfredian translation, see Nicole Guenther Discenza, *King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Binghamton, NY, 2005).

native norms. Yet all assert and even establish the primacy of written English in a multilingual environment.

To some extent, my 'Alfred' must be a construction. Exactly what role Alfred took, even in those translations that bear his name, we can never know precisely. The 'Alfred' who translated the *Pastoral Care*, the *Boethius* (and perhaps its *Metres*), the *Soliloquies*, and the first fifty Psalms may have been a collaboration between the King and one or more clerics, or a group of translators without the active involvement of the King, rather than the youngest son of King Æthelwulf and the ruler of Wessex working alone.² Indeed, Malcolm Godden now argues that Alfred may not have translated *anything* himself, and that the *Boethius* and *Soliloquies* may even post-date Alfred.³ Wærferth translated Gregory's *Dialogues*, claiming King Alfred as his patron; at roughly the same time an anonymous translator rendered *Orosius*, and included two interviews held between travellers and Alfred. The anonymous Old English *Bede* may well have been part of the same programme of translation heralded by Alfred's Prefatory Letter to the *Pastoral Care*.⁴ The Old English *Martyrology* probably preceded Alfred's programme and may or may not

² For the texts themselves, see *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, EETS, o.s., 45, 50 (London, 1871); *König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus*, ed. by Wilhelm Endter (Hamburg, 1922; repr. Darmstadt, 1964); and *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. by Patrick P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA, 2001). I used *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De consolatione philosophiae*, ed. by Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), but readers should now consult *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De consolatione philosophiae*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine with Mark Griffith and Rohini Jayatilaka (Oxford, 2009). Citations for primary texts will be given in parentheses in the main text; all translations are my own.

³ Malcolm Godden, 'Did Alfred Write Anything?', *Medium Ævum*, 76 (2007), 1–23. For an opposing viewpoint, see Janet M. Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', *Medium Ævum*, 78 (2009), 189–215.

⁴ Alfred Smyth argues that the *Dialogues* were not in fact translated by Wærferth in his *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 230–31. For the *Dialogues* themselves, see *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. by H. Hecht (Leipzig, 1900–07; repr. Darmstadt, 1965). For the *Orosius*, see Janet M. Bately's edition, *The Old English Orosius*, EETS, s.s., 6 (London, 1980), and her Introduction, pp. xxiii–cxvi, for date and authorship. For the Old English *Bede*, see *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Miller, EETS, o.s., 95–96, 110–11 (London, 1890); for its role in Alfred's programme, see Sarah Foot, 'The Making of *Anglecynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 25–49.

have provided a model of translation. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle surely had Latin forebears but just as surely is not simply a translation.⁵

Our Alfredian texts are thus primarily translations. It may seem obvious that a translation should render the words of one language into another, not leaving words or passages untranslated. Yet it seems equally apparent to modern readers that a translation renders one source text, not adding or omitting passages or changing the meaning. Those restrictions were not obvious to Alfred, who may have used as many as forty different sources in his translation of the *Boethius* and who added a third book drawn from various sources to Augustine's two-book *Soliloquies*.⁶ Less dramatically, the *Bede's* translator omitted most documentation and skipped over the Easter controversy.⁷ The *Orosius's* had no compunction about adding geographical material, asides, and interviews with foreign travellers while deleting or transforming many other passages.⁸

Indeed, code-switching and borrowing between languages are more natural to people versed in more than one language than strict adherence to a single tongue. As Mary Catherine Davidson writes, 'A speaker's strategic selection or intentional mixing of languages [...] can operate as markers of membership within social, ethnic, cultural or professional groups'; she further notes, 'integrating Latin or French

⁵ For the *Martyrology*, see *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by G. Kotzor (Munich, 1981). Because I am considering Alfredian-era texts specifically, I restrict my study to Chronicle entries up through 896, and I have not considered Chronicles E and F because of their bilingual natures and later compilation dates. See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–). For stages and dates of composition, see Janet M. Bately, 'The Compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129 (repr. as the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, 1986, and in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, selected and introduced by E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1990), pp. 261–97); and Janet M. Bately, 'The Compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Once More', in *Sources and Relations: Studies in Honour of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Marie Collins, Jocelyn Price, and Andrew Hamer, special issue, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 16 (1985), 7–26.

⁶ For sources, see Nicole Guenther Disenza, 'Sources of King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius's *De consolacione philosophiae* (Cameron C.B.9.3)' and Malcolm R. Godden, 'Sources of King Alfred's Old English Version of Augustine's *Soliloquia* (Cameron C.B.9.4)', both in *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Anglo-Saxon Authors*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>>; also available on CD-ROM: version 1.1 (Oxford, 2002).

⁷ See Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', *PBA*, 48 (1962), 57–90; Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*'; and Nicole Guenther Disenza, 'Old English *Bede* and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Authority', *ASE*, 31 (2002), 69–80.

⁸ See Bately, 'Introduction' to the *Orosius*, especially pp. lv–cxvi, for sources and their treatment, and for the *Orosius's* authorship, date, and style.

within English sentences [...] allows outgroup speakers to associate themselves momentarily with literate groups and co-opt their authority'.⁹ In fact, as Peter Auer and Dominika Baran argue, multilingualism is an identity in itself that writers and speakers may choose.¹⁰ Our terminology of code-switching and borrowing may be modern, but the ideas and practices are not, as shown by the mix of English and Latin in Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the survival of bilingual (OE-Latin) poetry.¹¹

Alfred's court must have engaged in code-switching on a regular basis. Code-switching can be as simple as contact among varieties of a language; some of Alfred's helpers spoke Mercian rather than West Saxon Old English. As a boy, Alfred himself went to Rome at least once and perhaps twice. Simon Keynes notes that records of Anglo-Saxon entourages in the *Liber Vitae of Brescia* 'constitute invaluable evidence of contacts established — and perhaps for a while maintained — between the ruling dynasties of both Wessex and Mercia and a royal nunnery lying in Carolingian territory beyond the Alps'.¹² Rome had in fact a whole English quarter or *Schola Saxonum*, so Alfred would not have been deprived of English conversation throughout, but he certainly came in contact with other languages. Latin, of course, was the language of the Church and probably one means for Franks and Anglo-Saxons to communicate, in England or on the Continent. Moreover, Alfred would have encountered foreign languages at home: in 855, while

⁹ Mary Catherine Davidson, 'Code-Switching and Authority in Late Medieval England', *Neophilologus*, 87 (2003), 473–86 (pp. 474 and 475).

¹⁰ Peter Auer, 'A Postscript: Code-Switching and Social Identity', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37 (2005), 403–10; and Dominika M. Baran, 'Negotiating Complex Identities: Language Choice, Code-Switching and Ethnicity in Taiwan', in *Language and Identity: Selected Papers of the International Conference, October 2–5, 2002, Sponsored by the American Society of Geolinguistics, Baruch College (CUNY)*, ed. by Leonard R. N. Ashley and Wayne H. Finke (East Rockaway, NY, 2004), pp. 63–75.

¹¹ See Rebecca Stephenson in this volume for Byrhtferth's multilingualism and problems of audience. For multilingualism in post-Alfredian English courts, see Samantha Zacher and Elizabeth Tyler in this volume.

¹² As recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A 853; the entry for 856 in F notes that Alfred had been to Rome. Asser credits Alfred with two visits; see chapters 8 and 11, *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots*, ed. by William Henry Stevenson with an article by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1959). Though some uncertainty remains regarding exactly when the visit or visits were and what happened, Keynes's discovery of Alfred's name in the *Liber Vitae of Brescia* among a number of travellers passing through in the 850s to Rome does substantiate reports of at least one visit: 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the "Liber Vitae" of Brescia', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 99–119 (p. 116).

Alfred was still quite young, his father Æthelwulf married Charlemagne's Frankish daughter Judith; the adult Alfred's helpers Grimbald and John were also Franks.¹³ Alfred's assistant and biographer Asser was Welsh.¹⁴ His court hosted various guests, most famously Ohthere and Wulfstan, but also Irish monks whose arrival is recorded in the Chronicle, and surely others not revealed in the extant records.¹⁵

Thus Alfred and his helpers worked in an environment that must have exposed them to multiple languages constantly. As Simon Keynes notes, charters from the third quarter of the ninth century generally reveal poor Latinity, but scribes use Latin despite their struggles with it, and Keynes argues that Wessex had its own diplomatic tradition in the ninth century.¹⁶ Letters to and from the Continent had to be written and read, and Mercians and West Saxons had to speak to Franks, Welsh, and Irish people. Latin was the language of information, documentation, and prestige.

¹³ David Pratt finds strong ties between Alfred's house and the Continent long before Alfred's reign: 'High-level contacts between Wessex and the Carolingian world had been initiated much earlier, during Ecgerht's exile in Francia (probably c. 789–92)', *Political Thought*, p. 39.

¹⁴ For Asser's Latin *Vita Alfredi* as a work produced for a Welsh audience but abandoned incomplete because its rhetoric could not succeed in contemporary conditions, see Pratt, *Political Thought*, esp. pp. 109–11.

¹⁵ For the identities of Ohthere and Wulfstan, see Bately, 'Introduction' to the *Orosius*, pp. lxxi–lxxii, and Bengt Odenstedt, 'Who Was Wulfstan? A New Theory of "Ohthere's and Wulfstan's Voyages"', *Studia Neophilologica*, 66 (1994), 147–57. See also Janet Bately, 'The Language of Ohthere's Report to King Alfred: Some Problems and Some Puzzles for Historians and Linguists', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin, 2005), pp. 39–53. For the Irish monks, see the Chronicle, 891, and possibly *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. by Stevenson, chapter 91 and notes; as Stevenson remarks, 'This sentence is so corrupt that it is difficult to decide whether Ireland or Spain (*Iberia*) is meant' (remarks in his note to 91.15, pp. 327–28). Alfred may also have consulted a Hiberno-Latin commentary on the Psalms for his Prose Psalms; see *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation*, ed. by O'Neill, esp. p. 39. Pratt (*Political Thought*, p. 41) also notes Alfred's contacts with the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

¹⁶ Simon Keynes, 'The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871–899', in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 175–97 (pp. 184–88). Sawyer lists ninety charters from 850–900, but many are dubious or obviously spurious. Of the probably authentic charters from the second half of the ninth century, there are roughly five in Latin (S 302, 337, 338a, 346, 569), four in Latin with OE endorsements (S 316, 319, 338, 344), sixteen in Latin with English boundaries (S 301, 326, perhaps 327, 328, 329, perhaps 331, 334, 335, 336, 340, 341, 347, 348, 350, perhaps 352, 355), and three in English with a Latin opening (S 315, 332, 510). S 342 may be an English translation of 334 or an independent document. S 1514 is an English-only document. Keynes notes that because nearly all of these exist in later copies, the linguistic evidence is dicey; again, see 'The Power of the Written Word', especially p. 188.

Style and Syntax

Latin was also the source language for many of the texts produced around the time of Alfred, and source languages often influence the language of translations.¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, the *Bede* and Wærferth's *Dialogues* sometimes reflect Latin influence in their style and grammar. Simonetta Mengato notes their relatively heavy use of subordination, instead of the coordination that dominates most Old English texts. Simeon Potter emphasizes their fondness for dative absolutes, a construction not truly native to English but formed by analogy to the Latin ablative absolute. He finds a hundred in the *Bede* and 123 in the *Dialogues*.¹⁸ Potter and Mengato note that the *Bede* and the *Dialogues* frequently translate their source texts nearly word-for-word.¹⁹ The Latinate style might seem to result from Wærferth's translation having been done early in the programme, before many other models of English prose were available.²⁰ Yet the *Bede*, generally dated well after the *Dialogues* and some of the other translations, has a similarly Latin-influenced style. Matti Kilpiö lists 'typical examples of the syntactic Latinisms in *Bede*', including 'thirty-three passive infinitives with accusative subjects'; and 'the agent formed with the dative and instrumental is almost totally confined to *Bede*, where it translates a Latin instrumental ablative almost without exception'.²¹ Dorothy Whitelock found some parts of the *Bede* 'vigorous and idiomatic' but others 'stiff and clumsy'.²²

¹⁷ See Disenza, *King's English*, particularly pp. 6 and 13–29.

¹⁸ Indeed, the *Dialogues* even has three dative absolutes *not* corresponding to Latin ablative absolutes. These figures contrast with five dative absolutes in the *Orosius*, one in the *Pastoral Care*, and none in the *Boethius*. See Simeon Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Wærferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translations* (Prague, 1931), pp. 22–23; and Simonetta Mengato, 'The Old English Translations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Orosius's *Historiarum adversus paganos*: A Comparison', *Linguistica e Filologia*, 16 (2003), 191–213 (p. 203).

¹⁹ Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede*, pp. 2–4; and Mengato, 'Old English Translations', pp. 194–98, 203–07.

²⁰ David Yerkes, *Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues: An Old English Thesaurus* (Toronto, 1979), p. 11.

²¹ Matti Kilpiö, *Passive Constructions in Old English Translations from Latin, with Special Reference to the OE Bede and the Pastoral Care* (Helsinki, 1989), pp. 134–35 and 167. Latin agents, conversely, are far more likely to become OE subjects in the *Pastoral Care* than the *Bede*, though the *Pastoral Care* on the whole makes more use of passives than the *Bede* (*ibid.*, p. 214).

²² Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede'; see especially pp. 74–76 for the translator's competence in Latin (or lack thereof) and prose style.

Thus Latin affected translators' English style at times. Yet scholars generally recognize the *Pastoral Care*, *Boethius*, *Soliloquies*, and Psalms, all attributed to Alfred, as examples of *English* style with only light influence from Latin.²³ More than Wærferth and the anonymous translator of Bede do, Alfred disentangles dense Latin sentences, especially hypotactic ones, by expanding them into longer sentences with more short clauses.²⁴ He tends to replace nouns, noun phrases, and participles with verbs or clauses.²⁵ He introduces causality into some clauses lacking it in Latin and employs more pronouns.²⁶ Alfred often uses parallelisms, doublets, and antitheses, sometimes restructuring the Latin and adding words.²⁷ He uses dative absolutes *very* rarely.²⁸ He may follow Latin word order, but not where it conflicts with English.²⁹

²³ Ludwig Borinski, *Der Stil König Alfreds: Eine Studie zur Psychologie der Red* (Leipzig, 1934); Kurt Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius* (Tübingen, 1964); William H. Brown, Jr, 'Method and Style in the Old English *Pastoral Care*', *JEGP*, 68 (1969), 666–84, and William H. Brown, Jr, *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care* (The Hague, 1970); Patrick O'Neill, 'Method of Translation and Style', in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation*, ed. by O'Neill, pp. 45–53; and Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede*, esp. p. 22.

²⁴ Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, pp. 210–14, 235; Brown, 'Method and Style', p. 671; O'Neill, 'Method of Translation and Style', pp. 48–49.

²⁵ Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, pp. 206–16; Brown, 'Method and Style', p. 673; O'Neill, 'Method of Translation and Style', pp. 46–47.

²⁶ Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, pp. 217–34; Brown, 'Method and Style', pp. 682–83, and Brown, *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care*, especially pp. 17–20; and O'Neill, 'Method of Translation and Style', pp. 46–47 and 52–53.

²⁷ Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, pp. 217–22, 227–29; Brown, 'Method and Style', pp. 272–73.

²⁸ Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede*, p. 22; Brown, *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care*, pp. 12–13.

²⁹ Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, pp. 233–34; Brown, 'Method and Style', pp. 682–83, and Brown, *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care*, especially pp. 17–20; O'Neill, 'Method of Translation and Style', pp. 52–53, contrasts the freer wording of the Prose Psalms with the same passages translated in the *Pastoral Care*. Brown agrees with Sweet: 'Henry Sweet has summed up the most tenable position on the Latin influence: "[...] there seems to be no attempt to engraft Latin idioms on the English version; the foreign influence is only indirect, chiefly showing itself in the occasional clumsiness that results from the difficulty of expressing and defining abstract ideas in a language unused to theological and metaphysical subtleties"' (Brown, *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care*, p. 15). The Prose Psalms present an awkward case because a recent study of style indicates that the Prose Psalms do *not* share a translator with the other three works ascribed to Alfred, and the Psalms themselves contain no ascription to Alfred; see Paramjit S. Gill, Tim B. Swartz, and Michael Treschow, 'A Stylometric Analysis of King Alfred's Literary Works', *Journal of Applied Statistics*,

The *Orosius* shares some of these stylistic elements: the translator favours parataxis and often simply implies subordination through juxtaposition, prefers active and concrete to passive or abstract, and sometimes uses a possessive and a demonstrative together for the same noun.³⁰ He uses English alliteration, rhythm, and sometimes doublets; he often employs expanded verb forms.³¹ The *Orosius*, like Alfred's translations, does not follow the Latin word-for-word and uses dative absolutes very sparingly.³² George Herzfeld's analysis of the *Martyrology* yields similar findings: that text too favours parataxis over hypotaxis and generally has short, simple clauses and sentences. Herzfeld even writes of the translator, 'Wherever he tries to build up a longer sentence he fails signally', and identifies nine cases of anacolouthon (shifting from one grammatical construction to another in the middle of a phrase or clause), adding, 'We may feel certain that he had not King Alfred's work as an example before him'.³³

Latin Words and Borrowings

Thus different translators showed different degrees of influence from Latin style and grammar. Individual words and phrases could also migrate from Latin source to Old English translation. Keeping a word or phrase one finds in the source text is generally easier than finding a native synonym, and the prestige of Latin could make its use attractive to translators. Their readers, though unable to read or write Latin fluently, would find some Latin or Latinate words and formulas, familiar

34.10 (2007), 1251–58, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02664760701592992>>, [accessed November 2008]. Yet the Psalms share many of the Alfredian stylistic characteristics just enumerated. O'Neill concludes in favour of Alfred's authorship ('Method of Translation and Style', pp. 73–97). The Psalms represent translation directly from the Bible, however, the most authoritative source possible. Biblical translators could be deeply reluctant to diverge too far from the source text, even if the results of staying close to the Latin were awkward in English. See also Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything?'

³⁰ Bately, 'Introduction', pp. lxxiv–lxxix; and Mengato, 'Old English Translations', p. 203.

³¹ Bately, 'Introduction', pp. ci–cii.

³² Only five times; see Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede*, pp. 22, 60, and 72–73. Mengato ('Old English Translations', pp. 198–207) finds great divergence between word order in the Latin and the OE.

³³ *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. by George Herzfeld, EETS, o.s. 116 (London, 1900), p. xxxii.

from Mass and other religious settings, and might welcome them in a translation as a mark of authenticity.³⁴

The appearance of Latin words and quotations in a text such as the Old English *Bede* comes as no surprise. The five books have Latin headers in most manuscripts: 'Liber primus' (24.29, The first book), 'Liber secundus' (94.1, The second book), 'Tertius incipit Ecclesiasticae hystoriae gentis Anglorum liber' (152.4, Book three of the ecclesiastical history of the English people begins; see also Books Four, 252.4; and Five, 384.4). These Latin headers stand alone, with no explanation or English rendering. A set of inserted correspondence is headed 'Interrogationes Sancte Augustini Archiepiscopi et responsiones Sancti Gregorii Papae urbis Romanorum' (64.6, Questions by St. Augustine, archbishop, and the responses of St Gregory, pope of the city of the Romans), and each of the questions is headed 'Interrogatio'; the answers, 'Responsio'. The Bible is quoted twelve times in Latin, with eleven of these passages also rendered in English.³⁵ Dates are given in Roman form — 'sexta Kalendas Junias' (256.4, The sixth kalends of June), 'þy syxtan dæge Nonarum Martiarum' (270.28–29, on the sixth day of the nones of March) — with no translation of the numbers, months, or Roman designations of days. Occasionally a Latin phrase appears with its English translation: 'eclipsis solis, þæt is sunnan asprungennis' (240.20, *eclipse of the sun*, that is the sun's failing); 'In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Cristi Saluatoris: in noman usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes' (310.13–14, *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the Savior*: in the name of our Lord [and] Saviour Christ). The former offers a case of borrowing in a scientific context; Old English did not have many specialized scientific terms, so translators sometimes make do with the Latin words. At other times, as we see here, the translator introduces an Old English equivalent after using the Latin word to make the technical sense clear.³⁶

The *Martyrology*, which is generally thought to have been translated earlier than the *Bede*, makes similar use of Latin. When it does use Latin, however, sometimes it translates the words, as in this passage on the disciplines (where scientific terms are employed):

³⁴ For social as well as linguistic gain in borrowing, see April M. S. McMahon, *Understanding Language Change* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 201–04.

³⁵ 66.12–13, 70.13–14, 70.15, 76.16, 82.9–10, 82.30–31, 82.31–32, 96.28, 262.20, 268.25–27, 442.4–5, 484.3–4. The latter is the only one that remains untranslated, probably because it occurs in a list of Bede's works and merely indicates on which passage of Isaiah he comments. Non-scriptural Latin quotations also occur at 60.18–21 (a hymn, untranslated) and 212.9–10 (angelic song, translated).

³⁶ Thanks to Elizabeth M. Tyler for pointing out the frequency of borrowing in scientific contexts (pers. comm., September 2008).

Þæt ys arest *arythimetica*, þæt ys þonne rymcraeft, ond *astraloia*, þæt ys þonne tungolcraeft, ond *astronomia*, þæt ys tungla gang, ond *geometrica*, þæt ys eorðgemet, ond *musica*, þæt ys dreamcraeft, ond *mechanica*, þæt ys weoruldweorces craeft, ond *medicina*, þæt ys læcedomes craeft. (November 28, St Chrysanthus)³⁷

A few common Latin words appear without translation: *sanctus* (saint) occurs too often to count, and the text says of St Guthlac, ‘His nama is on læden *belli munus*’ (April 11, St Guthlac; his name is in Latin *offering of war*).

Most of the works closely associated with Alfred employ fewer Latin words, particularly the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the translations attributed to Alfred himself. Wærferth’s sometimes Latinate *Dialogues*, with its awkward eruptions of dative absolutes, has a number of Latin borrowings, but it does not often give actual phrases in Latin. Two opening formulas appear: ‘*Explicit prefatio*’ (9.21, The preface ends) and ‘Her onginnað þa *capitulas* þære forman boce *dialogorum* be haligra wundrum’ (9.23–24, emphasis added).³⁸ Two quotations are given in Latin but translated in the following lines: ‘Þa swiðe hraðe geycte he his spræce 7 þus cwæð: “*Maledicte, non Benedicte!*” Þæt is on Englisc, þu arwyrgda, nalæs þu gebletsoda’ (122.17–19),³⁹ and “*aperite mihi portas iustitie*”, þæt is on englisc geþeoda: ontynað me rihtwisnesse gatu’ (312.24–25).⁴⁰

Among the works attributed to Alfred himself, we find a mere handful of Latin titles, and very few other unnaturalized Latin words: ‘genemned on Læden *Pastoralis*, & on Englisc Hierdeboc’ (PC 7.19);⁴¹ ‘þa bec sint gehatene: *Soliloquiorum*’ (Sol 2.14, the books are called the *Soliloquies*) and ‘*uidendo deo*’ (65.6, [on] *seeing God*; *de* is missing at the start of the Latin title); the *Boethius* names the *Astralogium* and the *Fisica* in passing (41.23 and 140.9). Other foreign words appear sporadically; in the Prose Psalms, two exotic animals are named in Latin with explanations in English: ‘þære wyrrestan nædran attor, þa mon “*aspis*” hæť’ (13.5),⁴²

³⁷ ‘That is first *arithmetic*, that is, then, the art of numbers; and *astrology*, that is, then, the art of stars; and *astronomy*, that is the course of stars; and *geometry*, that is earth measurement; and *music*, that is the art of music; and *mechanics*, that is the art of the workings of the world; and *medicine*, that is the art of healing.’

³⁸ ‘Here begin the chapters of the first book of *Dialogues* concerning the miracles of saints.’

³⁹ ‘Then very quickly he added to his speech and said thus, “*Cursed, not blessed!*” That is in English, you are cursed, not at all blessed.’

⁴⁰ “*Open to me the gates of justice*”, that is in the English language: open to me the gates of righteousness.’

⁴¹ ‘Named in Latin *Pastoralis* and in English *Shepherdbook*.’

⁴² ‘The poison of the worst adder, which one calls “*asp*”.’

and ‘þees deores bearn, þe “*unicornus*” hatte’ (28.5).⁴³ The *Soliloquies* gives one quotation in Latin, which is both translated and elaborated in the vernacular:

Ac seo lufa ne byð næfre gewanod, ac byð swiðe miclum geeced þonne þæt andgyt byð gefasnod on gode; ne þare lufu nefre ne byð nan ende: *Omni consummatione uidi finem latum mandatum tuum nimis*. Þæt is: ælces worulde þinges Ic geseo ende. Ac þinra beboda ic ne geseon nefre ende; þæt is, seo lufe embe þæt he witegode. (*Sol* 29.14–30.1)⁴⁴

Quotations aside, we might still expect to see words derived from Latin. Indeed, English has since its prehistory welcomed some foreign vocabulary: certain Latin words were borrowed early, into Common Germanic or West Germanic, and became fully naturalized, sometimes undergoing sound changes to fit Germanic phonology and entering common usage. Other Latin words may have entered later but also became common in Old English. For instance, *draca* derives from the Latin *draco*, which it often translates, but extant Old English literature shows that it has become naturalized enough to be common: combining both compounds and occurrences of the simplex, the word generates over three hundred hits in the *Old English Corpus*, with the Germanic *wyrm* producing just over a hundred more than that.⁴⁵ When I examine borrowings from Latin in these late ninth- and early tenth-

⁴³ ‘The offspring of that beast that is called “*unicorn*”.’

⁴⁴ ‘But this love will never be diminished, but it will be very much increased when the understanding is fixed on God; nor will there ever be any end to that love; “*I see the end of all things except your broad mandates*.” That is, I see the end of all things in the world. But of your commands I see never any end; that is, the love about which he prophesied.’

⁴⁵ *Dictionary of Old English, Old English Corpus*, ed. by Antonette diPaolo Healey (Ann Arbor, 1998–), <<http://ets.umd.umich.edu/o/oec/>>. The word’s roots in Latin are attested by both Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1921), p. 209; and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which locates the borrowing in Common West Germanic: see *dragon* at <<http://dictionary.oed.com>>. Another example, pointed out to me by the anonymous reviewer, is *strate*, from late Latin *strata* (for road). Not only is the word common in Old English texts, its form shows a vowel shift that predates the written language, from *a* to *æ*. Many Germanic languages have cognates; the *OED* has a detailed entry under *street*. Also on the matter of Old English borrowings, Peter Baker notes, ‘Most scholars consider “foreign words” to be those that retain the inflections of the source language, and “loan-words” those that appear with Old English inflections’, an inadequate distinction: ‘The Inflection of Latin Nouns in Old English Texts’, in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 187–206 (p. 188). Like Baker, I treat Latin words in predominantly Old English passages as loans; unlike Baker, however, I distinguish borrowings by their usage and frequency. When words appear in the nominative, whether their declension follows Old English or Latin generally proves impossible to determine.

century texts, I do not consider words that entered in the Common Germanic period, as attested by sound-changes or by cognates in multiple Germanic languages, or which seem to have been in common use in Old English.⁴⁶

Alfredian-era texts yield seventy-seven distinct Latinate words that give evidence of having been borrowed into Old English rather than through Common Germanic or Common West Germanic and that did not appear frequently in the *Old English Corpus*.⁴⁷ The words ranged from religious terms such as 'altar' (as opposed to the native 'weofod') and cultural references such as 'anfiteatra' ('amphitheater') and 'purpura' ('purple') to flora and fauna such as 'ysop' ('hyssop') and 'tigris' ('tiger') and miscellaneous terms such as 'fefer' ('fever') and 'gigant' ('giant'). The texts are of such different lengths that raw numbers can be misleading, so I have presented the data four different ways.

The numbers of distinct Latin words and total uses of Latin words in each text are very small. The text with the greatest number of different Latin borrowings is the *Dialogues*, with thirty-four distinct borrowings from Latin; some versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle use only two (see Table 1). Not counting quotations,

⁴⁶ I do not count words with over two hundred occurrences in Old English passages (found through the *Old English Corpus*) as foreign, such as *draca* (noted above), along with some words with under two hundred occurrences but cognates in multiple Germanic languages. For instance, *earc* for ark has under a hundred occurrences in Old English, but several Germanic cognates, and the *OED* lists its origin as 'Common Teutonic'; similarly, *tigel* for tile has several West Germanic cognates and an origin the *OED* describes, unsurprisingly, as 'West Germanic'. I used Geoffrey Hughes, *Words in Time: A Social History of the English Vocabulary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 4, to supplement some information from the *OED*. My numerical cut-off is necessarily arbitrary but reflects the reality that when a word comes into common usage, speakers of a language tend no longer to perceive it as foreign. An exception is *consul*, which I treat as Latinate though the *Old English Corpus* produces over two hundred hits, because 226 of those occurrences appear in the *Orosius* alone (223 for the noun form, three for the adjective *consulatus*).

⁴⁷ To find words, I read complete texts for those without complete glossaries; I used the glossaries for the *Boethius*, the *Orosius*, the Prose Psalms, and the *Soliloquies*, using for the latter the glossary by Thomas A. Carnicelli for his edition, *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies* (Cambridge, MA, 1969). To catch words I might have missed, I also used the extensive list of Old English borrowings from Latin in Mary Sidney Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* (New York, 1935) to search for specific words in the *Old English Corpus*. I then checked these words against the *Old English Corpus* to eliminate those that had become common, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Bosworth-Toller to eliminate borrowings that predated Old English (into Common Germanic or West Germanic). I used *The Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*, ed. by Angus Cameron and others (Toronto, 2007) where I could to ensure accuracy in my counts and coverage of all spellings.

the total occurrences of Latin words in the texts range from just over five and a half Latin borrowings per ten thousand words in the *Orosius* to not quite two per ten thousand in the *Soliloquies* (see Tables 2 and 3).⁴⁸ The proportions remain small even if one adds Latin quotations to the count: the *Bede* has just under thirty-nine Latin borrowings for every ten thousand words, while at the other extreme, the *Boethius* has just over six (see Table 4).

Despite the tremendous prestige of the Latin language and the utility of Latin words for certain topics (especially religion and science), the ninth-century translators rely heavily on their own, less-prestigious language. How *much* they do so varies from text to text. Given ongoing questions about Alfred's role, it would be wonderful to use the vocabulary as evidence for common authorship, but the data cannot support the weight of such conclusions. I have shaded the works usually attributed to Alfred himself for convenience of reference, but the groupings of texts in the tables should be noted with caution: results differ depending upon whether one groups by number of distinct Latin words employed or total occurrences of borrowings, and the differences between texts bearing Alfred's name are in some cases greater than the differences between particular Alfredian translations and others not attributed to the King.

Moreover, the widely varying focuses of the texts, from ecclesiastical to philosophical to historical, make such a test unreliable.⁴⁹ Religious terms are the most likely to be borrowed from Latin, but scientific and even sometimes mundane words are borrowings as well. The content of the texts seems to affect the strategies used by the translator, but it is not determinative. While none of these translations rely heavily on Latin words, the number of different Latin or Latinate words they use, and the number of times they use them, may vary according to the subject matter as well as the individual translator's working vocabulary. Yet we find fewer

⁴⁸ I obtained total word counts for each of the texts by using the Word Count function in Microsoft Word on texts from the *Old English Corpus*.

⁴⁹ The *Pastoral Care* deals much more closely with Church issues and with arcane imagery, so it features some unusual religious words such as *chor* (choir), *earc* (ark or chest), *altar*, and several specialized words about gems from Gregory's imagery: *adamans* (adamant), *carbunculus* (carbuncle), and *iacintus* (jacinth). The *Boethius* has no unusual Church terms, but it too creates a few exotic images requiring such words as *tigris* (tiger) and *ultor* (vulture). The fact that the *Pastoral Care* uses Latinate words more than the *Boethius* or the *Soliloquies* proves little because the source texts are so different; in all of these works, some of the Latinate borrowings have native equivalents, but many do not. One approach to word choice that does seek to identify common authorship focuses on frequently occurring words: see Gill, Swartz, and Treschow, 'A Stylometric Analysis'. See also Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything?'

Table 1. Latin borrowings in each text.

Title	Different Latin borrowings	Total occurrences of borrowings
<i>Dialogues</i>	34	141
<i>Bede</i>	31	90
<i>Orosius</i>	28 (29)*	(308)* 82
<i>Pastoral Care</i>	25	55
<i>Martyrology</i>	14	32
<i>Boethius</i>	10	24
<i>Prose Psalms</i>	9	15
Metres of Boethius	5	9
Chronicle A†	5	9
<i>Soliloquies</i>	3	8
Chronicle C	2	2
Chronicle D	2	2

* The *Orosius* uses otherwise rare *consul* and *consulatus* 226 times. I have calculated occurrences with and without these Latin titles.

† I could not obtain a total word count for Chronicle B and so do not use it in the tables.

Table 2. Arranged by frequency of different Latin borrowings.

Title	Total words in text	Different Latin borrowings per 10,000 words	Occurrences per 10,000 words
<i>Orosius</i>	50223	5.6	(61.3)* 16.3
<i>Prose Psalms</i>	16051	5.6	9.3
Metres of Boethius	10092	5	8.9
Chronicle A	10705	4.7	8.4
<i>Dialogues</i>	73567	4.6	12.8
<i>Bede</i>	78686	3.9	11.4
<i>Martyrology</i>	35504	3.9	9
<i>Pastoral Care</i>	68908	3.6	8
<i>Boethius</i>	43863	2.3	5.5
Chronicle C	9614	2.1	2.1
Chronicle D	8619	2.3	2.3
<i>Soliloquies</i>	16211	1.9	4.9

* The *Orosius* uses otherwise rare *consul* and *consulatus* 226 times. I have calculated occurrences with and without these Latin titles.

Table 3. Arranged by frequency of Latin occurrences.

Title	Total words in text	Different Latin borrowings per 10,000 words	Occurrences per 10,000 words
<i>Orosius</i>	50223	5.6	(61.3)* 16.3
<i>Dialogues</i>	73567	4.6	12.8
<i>Bede</i>	78686	3.9	11.4
<i>Prose Psalms</i>	16051	5.6	9.3
<i>Martyrology</i>	35504	3.9	9
Metres of Boethius	10092	5	8.9
Chronicle A	10705	4.7	8.4
<i>Pastoral Care</i>	68908	3.6	8
<i>Boethius</i>	43863	2.3	5.5
<i>Soliloquies</i>	16211	1.9	4.9
Chronicle D	8619	2.3	2.3
Chronicle C	9614	2.1	2.1

* The *Orosius* uses otherwise rare *consul* and *consulatus* 226 times. I have calculated occurrences with and without these Latin titles.

Table 4. Arranged by occurrences of total Latin borrowings and quotations.

Title	Total words in text	Words quoted in Latin	Total Latin and Latinate words per 10,000 words
<i>Orosius</i>	50223	2	61.7**
<i>Bede</i>	78686	211	38.3
<i>Martyrology</i>	35504	76	30.4
Chronicle D	8619	14	18.6
Chronicle C	9614	14	16.6
Chronicle A	10705	10	14
<i>Soliloquies</i>	16211	16	11.7
<i>Pastoral Care</i>	68908	8	9.14
<i>Prose Psalms</i>	16051	2	6.9
<i>Dialogues</i>	73567	11	6.1
Metres of Boethius	10092	—	8.9
<i>Boethius</i>	43863	4	6.4

** Here I have counted all usages of *consul* and *consulatus*; for the purposes of this table, it does not matter whether they are quoted Latin titles or borrowed words.

Latinate words in the translations more closely tied to Alfred than in the *Martyrology* and the *Bede*. Despite the wealth of technical information in the *Boethius* and philosophy in both that text and the *Soliloquies*, those translations have relatively few Latin words when compared with the *Dialogues*, the *Bede*, or the *Martyrology*.⁵⁰

Subject matter need not always determine the amount of borrowing, however. For instance, in the Latin *De consolatione philosophiae*, Philosophy describes a rich library or *bibliotheca*; the Old English translator describes instead of naming a place where books are kept. The *Boethius* also drops all reference to ebony (*ebur*), for which the *Thesaurus of Old English* does not even have a listing, substituting instead the more familiar *gold* and the Latin-derived but more common *gimm*.⁵¹ Here the translator seems clearly to prefer more familiar terms, even though they lead to a looser translation than in some other passages. By contrast, the translator of the *Orosius* does not hesitate to name the *bibliotheoco* at the Roman Capitol (142.2) nor to compare it to the one at Alexandria (142.5). Furthermore, in the *Pastoral Care*, the names of specific precious gems come from biblical passages, and the translator uses Latin borrowings, though rare, to keep from changing the words: *adamans* (adamant), *carbunculus* (carbuncle), *iacinth* (jacinth).

A brief examination of two particular words helps highlight translators' choices. Janet Bately studied the translation of the Latin *philosophus* with *filosof*, a learned borrowing found in the *Orosius*, and *upwita*, a native English word with a broader sense. She concludes,

That Alfred chose to use the relatively imprecise term *upwita*, composed of vernacular elements, in preference to the loan word *filosof* is, of course, fully consistent with the king's avoidance of other Latin 'technical' terms, such as *consul*. In the *Orosius*, in contrast, the translator exhibits his customary interest in precision by adopting the Latin terminology. The distribution pattern reflects a major difference of approach to the problems of translation on the part of two intelligent men, each in their own way seeking to make accessible to an Anglo-Saxon audience the wisdom of the ancients.⁵²

⁵⁰ For science in the *Boethius*, see Discenza, *King's English*, pp. 18–19; for philosophy, see *ibid.*, pp. 14–15, 40–41, and 46; and for logic, see *ibid.*, pp. 46–49 and 66–72. For philosophy in the *Soliloquies*, see Malcolm R. Godden, 'Text and Eschatology in Book III of the Old English *Soliloquies*', *Anglia*, 121 (2003), 177–209; and Michael Treschow, 'Echoes of the *Periphyseon* in the Third Book of Alfred's *Soliloquies*', *Notes & Queries*, 238, n.s., 40 (1993), 281–86.

⁵¹ *Thesaurus of Old English Online*, ed. by Jane Roberts and others, <<http://libra.englant.arts.gla.ac.uk/oethesaurus/>> [accessed June 2006].

⁵² Janet M. Bately, 'Upwita/Philosophus Revisited: A Reflection on OE Usage', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (London, 2000), pp. 16–36 (p. 36).

Alfred prefers the native term, while in this case the *Orosius* translator prefers the more specific but Latinate word.

Another learned word, *magister*, borrowed from Latin, appears nineteen times in these ninth-century texts, including six times in the *Pastoral Care* and *Boethius*, though its mere thirty-three occurrences in the *Old English Corpus* show it to be a Latinate, erudite word. The native equivalent would be *lareow*, whose forms appear over a thousand times in the *Old English Corpus*. Ninth-century writers and translators strongly favor *lareow* over *magister*: the *Pastoral Care* uses it nearly 120 times, the *Dialogues* forty-three, the *Bede* forty-four; even the *Orosius* uses *lareow* twice (and *magister* only once).⁵³

Different authors and translators incorporate Latin to differing extents in their texts, but all seem greatly to prefer native words. Arja Nurmi and Päivi Pahta's study of code-switching in Middle English letters found that the absence of code-switching can indicate poor knowledge of other languages, but it can also identify writers with one social group instead of another.⁵⁴ Our translators, and the Chronicle's first compilers, all read Latin, sometimes quite difficult Latin; with Latin words so familiar, surely it would have been easier at times to keep closer to the source texts' vocabulary rather than finding a native equivalent, say by using the source's *magister* instead of *lareow*.

On the other hand, some factors weigh against code-switching. In a recent study of the use of English in Ghana, Kari Dako notes that Ghanaians tend to see African words in otherwise English writing 'as anomalies in English that should preferably be done away with'.⁵⁵ She argues that Ghanaian writers may not even feel a distinction between borrowing, where the word is brought into another language, and code-switching.⁵⁶ Dako concludes,

⁵³ The *Metres* use it three times; the *Boethius* three; Chronicles A, B, C, and D each use it twice; the *Martyrology*, five times.

⁵⁴ Arja Nurmi and Päivi Pahta, 'Social Stratification and Patterns of Code-Switching in Early English Letters', *Multilingua*, 23.4 (2004), 417–56 (p. 419, citing Heller).

⁵⁵ Kari Dako, 'Code-Switching and Lexical Borrowing: Which Is What in Ghanaian English?', *English Today*, 18.3 (2002), 48–54 (pp. 48–49). She adds, 'there appears to be little recognition of transfer as being part of language-contact situations' (p. 49). Wei Li believes that 'code-switching is essentially a conversational activity' in his 'Starting in the Right Place: Introduction to the Special Issue on Conversational Code-Switching', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37 (2005), 275–79 (p. 276), but this tendency does not rule out code-switching in written texts.

⁵⁶ Dako, 'Code-Switching and Lexical Borrowing', p. 54.

It looks as if, in an intense contact situation, languages are instinctively kept apart even though extensive [code-switching] takes place. Notionally, the speaker feels that item X belongs to language Y and that its appearance in language Z is therefore alien: 'it does not belong'. This attitude can be observed in writing. There is lack of consistency as to how to deal with [borrowed] items, as if writers don't know what to do with them.⁵⁷

These findings, even so far removed in time, seem to mirror the practices of some Anglo-Saxon translators: they are willing to mix languages to an extent, but then no further, with the translations attributed to Alfred and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle using Latin the least.

Linguistic as well as social constraints play their own role. David Britain and Kazuko Matsumoto write,

language is *not* [...] an identity 'free-for-all', a dressing-up box from which we can freely pick whatever suits us at that moment. The internal structures of the language impose quite considerable constraints on the linguistic scope for marking social allegiances and social distinctions, constraints which sociolinguistic research has shown are consistently adhered to by the community.⁵⁸

Our translators faced constraints including the language system of English as they understood it. Within those constraints, ninth-century Anglo-Saxon translators show significant variation in how much they borrow, syntactically and lexically, from Latin: Wærferth adapts ablative absolutes into dative absolutes while most of his near-contemporaries shun them; the translators of the *Bede* and the *Martyrology* incorporate more Latin phrases and even sentences than other translators; and the translator of the *Pastoral Care* uses a number of Latin borrowings but avoids directly quoting much Latin. The works most closely associated with the name of Alfred are among those that show the least Latin influence in syntax and vocabulary; while this evidence alone is insufficient to demonstrate common authorship, it does support other work that has linked the *Pastoral Care*, the *Boethius*, the *Soliloquies*, and often the Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter.⁵⁹ In all these works, the Latin borrowings or even quotations form only a small percentage

⁵⁷ Dako, 'Code-Switching and Lexical Borrowing', p. 52.

⁵⁸ David Britain and Kazuko Matsumoto, 'Language, Communities, Networks and Practices', in *Clinical Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Martin J. Ball (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 3–14 (p. 14).

⁵⁹ Most recently, see Janet Bately, 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. by Reuter, pp. 107–20, which also offers excellent references. But for a mathematical analysis that concludes that the first three share an author or authors but the Prose Psalms have a different translator, see Gill, Swartz, and Treschow, 'A Stylometric Analysis'. See also Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything?'

of the words, and their syntax generally sets the standard for later Old English prose, straying far from Latin.

Linguistic constraints may play a smaller role in the translators' choices than social ones, however. Later writers sometimes mix Latin and English much more promiscuously. Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, a work designed to introduce students to the study of computus (calculating the date of Easter), is partly bilingual, offering some sections in both Latin and Old English, and a few only in Latin.⁶⁰ Ælfric's *Grammar* and its glossary often employ calques and Latinisms.⁶¹ Even Old English poetry features some macaronic works and passages: the religious works *Rewards of Piety*, *Summons to Prayer*, and *Aldhelm* each unite Latin and Old English in one poem, and *The Phoenix* contains a macaronic passage. These works indicate, as do the many Latin quotations in the *Bede*, that language mixing was not strictly taboo. Yet mid-ninth- and perhaps early tenth-century translators generally limited their code-switching more than translators and authors did after the Alfredian period.

Conclusions

These translations, especially the less Latinate ones, distance themselves from the Church, though one of the source texts is scriptural (the Psalms), two were written by a pope (the *Dialogi* and *Regula pastoralis*, by Gregory I), and one was penned by a Church father (Augustine's *Soliloquia*). The translators working with or under Alfred were probably churchmen themselves, but the repetition of the King's name in several texts helped tie these learned works as much to secular as to sacred interests. Several of the translations take the name of King Alfred as translator, patron, or, in the *Orosius*, interviewer. As Alfred took Church lands, ostensibly for defense from the Vikings, and put them under lay control, so too his programme took Church texts and put them under lay control.⁶² That is not to suggest an

⁶⁰ See Stephenson in this volume.

⁶¹ For Ælfric, see Helmut Gneuss, 'Ælfrics *Grammatik* und *Glossar*: Sprachwissenschaft um die Jahrtausendwende in England', in *Heilige und profane Sprachen / Holy and Profane Languages: Die Anfänge des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im westlichen Europa / The Beginnings of Foreign Language Teaching in Western Europe*, ed. by Werner Hülsen and Friederike Klippel (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 77–92 (pp. 84–86).

⁶² For land appropriation, see Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR*, 100 (1985), 247–65; Janet L. Nelson, 'A King Across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), 45–68; and David N. Dumville, 'Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking-Age', in his *Wessex and England from Alfred*

absolute opposition; Ælfric, himself an admirer of Alfred, would translate parts of the Bible as a member of the Church, extending its authority into the vernacular even while fearing that translation would allow the scriptures to escape Church control, increasing the chances of misinterpretation.⁶³ The Alfredian translations clearly reflect more engagement with the outside world than their source texts do. Most notably, in the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred translated Gregory's frequently used 'rector' ('rector' or 'leader', clearly used in Gregory for a cleric) as 'reccere' ('ruler', not confined in Alfred to clerics).⁶⁴ The divide between secular and sacred for Anglo-Saxons may not have been not as strict as it is today, but Anglo-Saxons certainly recognized a distinction between religious and lay,⁶⁵ and the *Pastoral Care*, the most copied of the translations, leans significantly more towards lay leadership than its Latin source.

By speaking in one language — one voice — these ninth-century texts avoid fragmenting authority. Among the mere handful of charters from the latter half of the ninth century written solely in English, we find Alfred's own will (S 553).⁶⁶ Alfred's laws, and the laws of his predecessor Ine that he had copied, are entirely in English. Unlike on the Continent, the legal language was not the language of the Church, nor was any concession made to Norsemen and Danes, Frankish aides, or foreign guests at court. Frankish monarchs may have found Latin easier to use in their laws because of a more literate clergy, a natural side-effect of the vernacular being closer to the learned language, but after the Norman Conquest, law would

to Edgar: *Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 29–54. For linguistic appropriation, see Discenza, *King's English*. For both kinds of appropriation, see Pratt, *Political Thought*.

⁶³ See Ælfric's *Prefatio* to his translation of Genesis, *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de veteri testamento et novo*, ed. by Richard Marsden, EETS, o.s., 330 (Oxford, 2008–), I, 1–7.

⁶⁴ See Janet L. Nelson, 'The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 125–58 (p. 147), for Alfred's broader reading of the term *rector*. Nelson argues throughout that Alfred's political ideas were specifically *secular* though Christian. See also J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), p. 143.

⁶⁵ Clear differences in terminology separate religious (*cleric*, *prafost*, *preost*, *sacerd*, *nunne*, *godcund had*) from lay (*lewed*, *worulduncund had*, *woruldhad*, *woruldlif*, *hwilendlic*, *woruldlic*). Some of these words were identified with the help of the *Thesaurus of Old English Online*, ed. by Roberts and others.

⁶⁶ His will is also translated into Latin (see S 1507 and 1508). All versions, including a Middle English translation, are later copies.

be conducted in Latin despite its increasing distance from the Norman and Anglo-Norman. Alfred's circle clearly contained men with strong Latin skills, but he followed English precedent in issuing his law-code in the vernacular.⁶⁷

Alfred and his court had a choice of languages for law and chronicles, and they chose the vernacular. Mary Catherine Davidson writes: 'Latin-literate speakers, confident in their status, might choose to cooperatively communicate with monolingual laity by not language-mixing'.⁶⁸ She continues, 'speakers certain of their status and authority do not code-switch but choose a single language to accommodate their audience'.⁶⁹ Thus Alfred, and to varying extents his contemporaries, maintained a relatively unified language. Even though any Standard Old English is still in their future, and dialectal differences do appear in these works, the translations assert a unifying language.⁷⁰ As Philip M. Adamek writes, 'Thus, identification is linked to desire, which is to say, it is an active and interminable process rather than a stable acquisition'.⁷¹ Desire for unity surely helped motivate the production of these overwhelmingly monolingual English texts, as translators and readers began to identify not merely with a specific Anglo-Saxon kingdom but with a larger *Englaland*.⁷²

Alfred clearly maintained a multilingual court. It would be fascinating to know how the King, his stepmother, his aides, and his visitors all communicated; surely

⁶⁷ As Elizabeth Tyler pointed out (pers. comm., September 2008), Bede notes approvingly that Æthelberht 'decreta illi iudiciorum iuxta exempla Romanorum cum consilio sapientum constituit; quae conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur et obseruantur ab ea' ('established with the advice of his counsellors a code of laws after the Roman manner. These are written in English and are still kept and observed by the people'): *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertam Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 150–51. For analysis of Bede's passage and the significance of Æthelberht's Laws, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), esp. pp. 29–30 and 93–101.

⁶⁸ Davidson, 'Code-Switching and Authority', pp. 480–81; she offers as an example Jocelyn of Brakelond's account of Abbot Samson preaching in English, despite excellent Latin and French.

⁶⁹ Davidson, 'Code-Switching and Authority', p. 481.

⁷⁰ The fundamental work on Standard Old English remains Helmut Gneuss's 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 63–83.

⁷¹ Philip M. Adamek, 'Habits of Household Lingualism', *TESL-EJ*, 8.1 (2004), <<http://tesl-ej.org/ej29/a1.html>> [accessed 7 January 2007].

⁷² On the formation of an English identity, see Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*'; and Jacqueline Ann Stodnick, 'Writing Home: Place and Narrative in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2002).

a number of different languages could be heard! Yet this multilingual atmosphere produced predominantly *monolingual* texts, with some charters in Latin, but other charters, translations, chronicles, and laws in English. While Alfred certainly engaged with the world community as he knew it, the literature of his own court and contemporaries insisted on English first and foremost, even while they asserted their interest in and authority on topics ranging from practical ethics through history, science, theology, and philosophy.

In today's world, English seems dominant, sometimes even oppressively so. In the ninth century, English was the language of a small corner of the world, distant from what the early medieval world considered significant. Its language was spoken by few. Writers and translators of English engaged with the dominant discourses of power and authority but often did so in their mother tongue, giving their language literature and prestige at a time when most Continental vernaculars produced little literature and even less prose. The Bible had been translated into Gothic in late antiquity, but that language left no other literary remains; Old Saxon produced *Genesis* and the *Heliand* but little else. Old Norse skaldic poetry seems to begin in the ninth century, a little before or roughly contemporary with the Alfredian translations; Icelandic sagas appear in the following century, but Icelandic prose begins only in the early twelfth century.⁷³ At the same time, French had even less vernacular literature, with only the *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie* and *Vie de Saint Léger* dating to the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁴ Aside from English, only Irish and Old High German each produced a good number and range of translation and vernacular works before the millennium.⁷⁵ Janet Nelson notes,

⁷³ Theodore M. Andersson, 'Old Norse-Icelandic Literature', in *Early Germanic Literature and Culture*, ed. by Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read (New York, 2004), pp. 171–203 (pp. 173–75 and 181).

⁷⁴ Peter A. Machonis, *Histoire de la langue: du latin à l'ancien français* (Lanham, MD, 1990), pp. 142–43; thanks to Anne Latowsky for the reference. A very small proportion of capitularies survive in the vernacular; see Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London, 1996), p. 10. Of course, as Nelson further notes, Latin had the advantage of bridging the language gap between the two halves of the empire.

⁷⁵ Old Irish is generally thought to have been one of the most prolific early medieval vernaculars, with fragments of poetry that may date back as far as the fifth century; see James Carney, 'Language and Literature to 1169', in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 1: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), pp. 451–510; thanks to Andrew Scheil for this reference. For Old High German, see *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Brian Murdoch (Rochester, NY, 2004).

By insisting on latinity, [Carolingian reformers] privileged Romance- over germanic-speakers; but by insisting on correct latinity, they highlighted the gap between the written language and the evolving vernaculars [...]. The reformers were not only interested in accessibility. Operating in an extremely inegalitarian world, they assumed and exploited differentials in access to power. Latinity's potential for restrictiveness was thus a recommendation.⁷⁶

In ninth-century England, writers and translators chose a very different path to power and authority.

Despite the multilingualism of his court, Alfred the Great and his contemporaries produced a surprising number and range of English translations in the late ninth century. In the century that followed, English literature would truly blossom at the hands of writers such as Ælfric and Wulfstan, anonymous authors of homilies and saints' lives, and poets whose names are largely lost to time.⁷⁷ Alfred's mother tongue continued to be a major vehicle for writing well past the Norman Conquest, even as it gradually evolved into a rather different language, now a mother tongue not only to the population of a small island but to large numbers in many places in the world.

⁷⁶ Nelson, *The Frankish World*, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Dating Old English poetry is notoriously difficult, and some OE poetry may well precede Alfred; see R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia, 1992); but see also Ashley Crandell Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts* (Cambridge, MA, 1980) for arguments against some linguistic tests for dating.

TRANSLATING TECHNICAL TERMS IN LAW-CODES FROM ALFRED TO THE ANGEVINS

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There has been much new work on the fundamentals of the written word in the Middle Ages. Recent monographs, articles, and conference proceedings have approached the topic from the basic question of how medieval people read their books, to the structuring of memorized knowledge, or the imprint of the aural within the form of the written — and the most revelatory of this work describes not simply how authors shaped texts but how the written word shaped perceptions of readers, auditors, and users.¹ These studies come after a very fertile period of work on literacy and orality in medieval societies by — here a few from what could be a long list — Malcolm Parkes, Michael Clanchy, Brian Stock, and Rosamond McKitterick.² Some of the insights provided by this research have been startling and refreshing — Roger Wright's work, for example, has shown that until Alcuin, the Frankish world was literate in its vernacular, with no significant

¹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990); Michel Banniard, *Viva voce: communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en Occident latin* (Paris, 1992); Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990); Carol Braun Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1995); Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, vols 1–15 (Turnhout, 1999–2006).

² Malcolm Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in *Literature and Western Civilization: The Medieval World*, ed. by David Daiches and A. K. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp. 555–77; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993); Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), and the collective wisdom of the contributors to *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990).

diglossia in sight until Alcuin and Charlemagne's realignment of written Latin with classical Latin pronunciation left spoken contemporary Romance with no orthographic system to represent it.³

The English were faced with a different set of problems concerning language. These problems were most visibly the result of a series of invasions and settlements first by Scandinavians, beginning in the ninth century, followed in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the West Saxon and Mercian conquest of the north and east, the return of Scandinavian rule again under Cnut and his sons (1016–42), and then, in 1066, the conquest of England by Francophones (and a few Breton and Flemish speakers). However, the problems of multilingualism implied by this list of invasions were already present along western borders with Welsh-speaking peoples and in the north with Gaelic-speaking Scots.⁴ This multilingualism meant that the English were always translating, whether orally between English, Welsh, Scandinavians, Scots, and Normans, or in texts between the written Latin culture of the clergy (itself in contact at times with Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic texts) and the vernaculars or, occasionally, between the written vernaculars themselves.⁵

Some aspects of this translating activity have been an object of interest with scholars for some time — from the grandest questions of the influence multilingualism and its aspects (i.e. translation, diglossia, bilingualism, etc.) had on the development of English, to issues as narrow and particular as the identification of Alfred's translations and the evaluation of their causes and effects — but this scholarship lives in many disciplinary homes.⁶ Relevant research has been conducted by sociolinguists, philologists, onomasticians, toponymists, and scholars in translation studies as well as by historians and scholars of literature of all stripes.

³ Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982), and now his *Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2002).

⁴ A topic covered by Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 5–104, and Ian Short, 'On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *Romance Philology*, 33 (1979–80), 467–79.

⁵ Robert Bartlett observes that English society from the Conquest to the fourteenth century was 'more broadly and truly multilingual [...] than it has ever been since': *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 483.

⁶ See the relevant chapters on vocabulary or lexis in vols I and II of the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (Cambridge, 1992); Janet Batley, 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On', in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 107–20. On the issue of translation in England, see my *Reversing Babel: Translation among the English during an Age of Conquests, c. 800 to c. 1200* (Newark, 2011).

And much remains to be studied. I am only dealing with a small point about translation in this article, a point I came to consider crucial after working with the Latin and Anglo-Norman French translations of Old English law-codes after the Conquest. These legal translations are generally more recognized than known, having been branded by F. W. Maitland and Julius Goebel as mainly derivative.⁷ They are *Quadripartitus*, the most compendious of the lot, translating into Latin most of the Anglo-Saxon laws that are thought to have been issued; the narrower *Instituta Cnuti* and *Consiliatio Cnuti*, which, despite their titles, do more than translate only Cnut; and finally, the last section of the *Leis Willelme*, which translates into Anglo-Norman French a selection of Cnut's 'secular' laws. I have now broadened the investigation to cover legal translations from Alfred's translation into Old English of laws from Exodus at the start of his law-code (880s–890s) to the Anglo-Norman translations of the *Articuli Willelmi* and *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* in the late twelfth century.⁸

One of my first observations was that many of the post-Conquest translations — especially the *Instituta Cnuti* and *Consiliatio Cnuti* — took liberties with their sources, and that these additions, revisions, and omissions formed a pattern that revealed in part the goals of the translators. For instance, the *Instituta* updates its translation of Alfred's tort code by refiguring the fines in terms of Norman shillings, rather than the source's West Saxon ones.⁹ Such a revision only tells so much,

⁷ Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1898), I, 101; Julius Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure* (New York, 1937), p. 380 and n. 51.

⁸ All of these texts are in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16). Liebermann's standard abbreviations will be used for individual texts. *Leis Willelme* is also available, with an English translation, in *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925). The Anglo-Norman version of the *Leges Edwardi* remains unedited, surviving in a single copy, now Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.I.1, fols 3^v–8. On this last piece, see Felix Liebermann, 'Eine angelnormannische Übersetzung des 12. Jahrhunderts von Articuli Willelmi, Leges Edwardi und Genealogia Normannorum', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 19 (1895), 79–83, and Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 106–07. I have not included the Latin version of Æthelred's sixth code (VI Atr) since it is uncertain whether this text is a translation of a similar Old English text (also VI Atr) or that both are drafts drawn up in preparation for Wulfstan's later legal compositions for Cnut: on this, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 190–95 and 333–35.

⁹ See, e.g., In Cn at II Cn 15, but passim; cited long ago by Felix Liebermann, 'On the Instituta Cnuti aliorumque regum Anglie', *TRHS*, n.s., 7 (1893), 77–107 (pp. 87–91).

however. It is unclear to what degree the post-Conquest translations are evidence of continuity of law over the Conquest. Few scholars are willing to trust them on this point, suspecting deliberate archaisms and hidden agendas behind this burst of legal writing.

The authority of these legal texts as evidence, however, might be tested by studying their treatment of the technical vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon law. Technical terms are a conservative part of a language.¹⁰ Replacing the technical terms of law may be among the last linguistic changes a people experience as a result of conquest or colonization or immigration. Where poets lead, courts have to be dragged.

By the end of the ninth century, the Old English legal vocabulary was already well established in written form, presumably reflecting a similar consensus in oral usage.¹¹ Of course there continued to be movement at the edges, which is not surprising given the link between lordship and jurisdiction in a world where the king's lordship was increasing its power in leaps. Cnut, for instance, according to Florence Harmer, may have added to the long list of regalian rights by creating *flymenafyrmth* ('the harbouring of fugitives'), and Wulfstan, Cnut's legal amanuensis, may have put — I have argued elsewhere — legal technicality to *mordðor* ('murder involving betrayal').¹² But the technical words for rights and wrongs were mostly stable. The rhythm and subsequent consistency of Anglo-Saxon writs listing *sac and socn* ('basic jurisdiction'), *tol and team* ('right to take tolls' and 'vouching to warranty'), and *infangentheof* ('right to try a thief taken with the stolen property'), and, in others, *hamsocn* ('assault on a person or house'), *grithbryce* ('breach of peace'), *mundbryce* ('breach of protection'), *foresteall* ('obstruction or waylaying'), *fihtwite* ('fine on fighting'), and *fyrðwite* ('fine for neglect of military service'), reveal a long oral history for some and a technicality for all as judicial and financial rights and royal dues before 1066.¹³ Here, but also generally, translators were faced

¹⁰ Consider, for example, the long life of Law French in England: William Rothwell, 'The Problem of Law French', *French Studies*, 46 (1992), 257–71, and Paul Brand, 'The Languages of the Law in Later Medieval England', in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 63–76.

¹¹ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. by F. E. Harmer, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1989), pp. 73–82.

¹² *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. by Harmer, pp. 81–92; Bruce R. O'Brien, 'From *Morþor* to *Murdum*: The Preconquest Origin and Norman Revival of the Murder Fine', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 321–57 (pp. 336–37, 349).

¹³ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. by Harmer, pp. 73–85. This consistency is in part explained by Richard Sharpe, 'The Use of Writ-Chartes in the Eleventh Century', *ASE*, 32 (2003), 247–91, as a product of the process whereby writs were drafted either by their recipients or by royal scribes on the basis of previous writs on the same subject to the same beneficiary.

with problems when they chose to work with legal texts, regardless of the language of the source text or translation. How does one translate technical jargon?

One fairly common method used by translators, including this body of English translators of legal sources, ignores the goal of lexical equivalence (strictly speaking) and expands the source through the incorporation of expository commentary. The principle is simple. Instead of worrying overly about producing any lexical equivalence between the source text and the translation, the translator aimed at creating a text that could be clearly understood in the target language, where ambiguities were resolved and, at times, implications laid out. This was certainly done to select passages in, for example, the works of Alfred. In the preface to his law book, where he translates select passages from Exodus, Alfred took the source's commandment 'maleficos non patieris vivere', and expanded it, probably to eliminate the ambiguity of *maleficus*, which could mean either a criminal, an evil-doer, or a wizard: 'Ða fæmnan þe gewuniað onfon gealdorcræftigan 7 scinlæcan 7 wiccan, ne læt þu ða libban.'¹⁴ Some of the post-Conquest translators performed this same task. As

¹⁴ Exodus 22. 18: 'Do not suffer wizards to live.' Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Af El. 30: 'Women who want to undertake spell-craft and wizards and witches, do not allow them to live.' On the identification of Alfred's source for the translated portions of Exodus there is still disagreement. His selection of chapters and verses are all included in an older collection of biblical laws called the *Liber ex lege Moysi*, which remains unedited, though two scholars have either promised an edition or made it an object of special study over the last few decades (Raymund Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluss des alten Testaments auf Recht und Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters* (6.–8. Jahrhundert) (Bonn, 1964), p. 12, n. 4, who said an edition done in collaboration with L. Bieler would shortly appear, and Anton Scharer, in the 1990s, in a note added to the M. R. James's catalogue of Corpus Christi College manuscripts, in the Parker Library, was said to be working on one). Patrick Wormald discusses the *Liber* as a source, but suggests that it and Alfred's *Domboc* may have had a common source, and points to other sources, both oral (Grimbald of St-Bertin) and written (*Collatio legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum*), that may have determined the shape of the source 'text' (Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 416–26); Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge are only willing to say that there may be a connection (*Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London, 1983), p. 304, n. 2). David Pratt, on the other hand, points to a miscounting of Commandments and an inversion of verses shared by the *Liber* and the *Domboc* and argues that these are most easily accounted for by identifying the *Liber* as Alfred's source (David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 230). Additional shared variants support Pratt's conclusion (see esp. *tabernaculi* added to Exodus 21. 6, appearing as 'þæs temples' (itself an older borrowing from Latin *templum*) in Af El. 11) and may narrow the source to the *Liber* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 279, whose dating by M. R. James to the end of the ninth or early tenth century may be at the late end of what is possible. Note, however, that the *Old English Heptateuch* translated a text which shared this last variant, but was not the *Liber*: 'to ðæs

with Alfred, purpose shaped language. The *Instituta Cnuti* used expansion to update and redefine older laws, since it was an attempt to produce a useful description of English law, while Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence in his translation of the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) in his *Vie de Saint Thomas*, composed between 1170 and 1174, included commentary on his source driven by his hagiographical purpose.¹⁵ Guernes does offer a reliable Anglo-Norman French translation of the Latin text of each constitution, but also adds the reason it should be opposed: for example, 'Li dreiz de saint iglise fu iluec oblîez' or 'se ensi fust, fiebles hum dreit mais ne conquestast: La pöesté saint Piere li reis Henris guardast'.¹⁶ His inclusion of personal criticisms in his translation is unique among translators of legal texts, but so was his purpose: to show the sanctity of a martyr and a king's corruption, rather than reflect the authority or explain the administration of the original laws. Even a translation that edited its source nevertheless expected to draw on the source's authority; even Guernes wanted his readers to recognize that his version of the laws was accurate, despite his agenda to undermine them:

Se vus volez les leis rei Henri oïr,
Qu'il voleit en sun regne e metre e establir
E faire a saint iglise e garder e tenir,
Ci les purrez aprendre, car jo n'en voil mentir.
Quant sainz Thomas les het, tuit les deivent haïr.¹⁷

halidomes dura', in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s., 160 (Oxford, 1922), p. 264. This variant does not appear in any families of texts used for Dom Quentin's edition of the Vulgate version of Exodus for *Biblia Sacra* (Rome, 1929), nor is there any sign of the same inversion of verses as found in Alfred's introduction and the *Liber*.

¹⁵ Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *La vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Jacques T. E. Thomas, 2 vols (Leuven, 2002), I, 154–62 (lines 2391–2555). Cf. *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*, ed. by William Stubbs, 9th edn, rev. by H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1921), pp. 163–67, for the source. See also Thomas O'Donnell in this volume.

¹⁶ Guernes, *La vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Thomas, I, 154 (line 2400) and 156 (lines 2414–15): 'holy church's rights are neglected here' or 'thus if this were done, a weak man would never obtain justice. King Henry would have St. Peter's powers'.

¹⁷ Guernes, *La vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Thomas, I, 154 (lines 2391–95): 'If you would like to hear these laws that King Henry wanted to establish and set up in his kingdom and to make holy church observe and keep, you may learn them here; I shall tell no lies. Saint Thomas abominated them, and therefore everyone must do so' (trans. by Janet Shirley, *Garnier's Becket* (London, 1975), p. 64).

In general, if translators aim for lexical equivalence between source and target, they have three options for rendering technical terms: transcribe them, construct an etymological replica (also called a loan translation or *calque*), or find a cultural equivalent in the target language. These three choices are visible in many different places and in the works of many different translators far beyond the bounds of early medieval England, from Jewish translators in the school of Aquila in the early second century trying to improve on what they perceived as the freedom of the Septuagint, to modern translators of technical manuals.¹⁸ Medieval English translators of legal records were alive to all three possibilities.

The first is transcription, one of the most basic techniques used when a translator encountered technical terms. The process was simple. When the translator decided a word in the source text would not be translated, for whatever reason, the translator would sometimes assign that word a gender (if such was required in the target language and the translator was so inclined) and transplant it whole into the translation. Examples of this in translations from English to Latin or French are legion. *Quadripartitus* is filled with transcriptions of Old English technical terms of law, some of which are given gender and inflected, like *hundredum* for *hundred*, *wera* for *wer* ('wergild'), *ordalium* for *ordal* ('judicial ordeal'), *weralada* for *werlad* ('exculpatory oaths based on a person's *wer*'), while others come in as they are in the source language (e.g. *halsfang* ('installment of wergild' or 'fine under English law'), *lahslit* ('fine under, usually, Danish law')).¹⁹ In the *Leis Willelme*, the translator was willing to transform an Old English *thegn* into an Anglo-Norman *vavassour*, a *theof* into a *larun*, and a *borh* into a *plege*, but chose to transcribe Old

¹⁸ Sebastian Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979), 69–87 (pp. 84–85).

¹⁹ See a sample from *Quadr* at II Cn 19.1 (*namum*), 30.3b (*weram*), 30.6 (*ordalium*, *weram*, *wita*), 30.8 (*were*), 30.9 (*weram*, *utlaga* (for *utlah*)), 31.1 (*weram*), 32 (*ordalio*), 35 (*prima tihla* for *frymtyhtlan*), 36 (*weram*), 37 (*healsfang*), 39 (*utlaga*, *weralada*), 42 (*plena lada* for *fulre lade*), 45.1 (*halsfang*), and 45.3 (*lahslit*, *witam*). I cannot say why some words were incorporated more fully into the target language while others remained less changed. Many of these transcribed terms make their first Latin appearance here in *Quadripartitus* or its contemporaries, the *Instituta Cnuti* and *Consiliatio Cnuti*: s. vv. in *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. by R. E. Latham and others (London, 1975–). Based on citations in the *Dictionary*, *Quadripartitus* and its contemporary legal translations appear to be the first texts to transcribe some Old English technical jargon into Latin: see, e.g., *fihtwita*, *hamsocna*, *lahslita*, *manbota*, *meqbota*, and *munda*. Three of these appear only in the work of the *Quadripartitus* translator: *meqbota*, *manbota*, and *lahslita*. Other terms appear for the first time in eleventh- and twelfth-century Latin texts, but not just in the legal translations: *frithborga*, *hamfara*, *hengwita*, *bida*, *marca*, and *namium*.

English *lahslit* into Anglo-Norman *laxslite*, and to retain *hundred*, *wer*, and *nam* ('distrain') relatively untouched.²⁰ It is not simply that the translator had an easier time finding Anglo-Norman equivalents for people than for abstractions, and so transcribes English concepts like *sac* and *soen* in his source. The same translator is willing elsewhere to lump together under the omnibus Anglo-Norman French *forfait* ('forfeiture') two quite separate English fines: *aeftergyld* ('subsequent payment of portion of fine') and *wite* ('fine, usually paid to the king').²¹

Transcription is, of course, one of the ways that new words enter a language. Such loans — that is what these are — were common, but do not from the perspective of a translator's intentions admit any catholic explanation.²² On the one hand, transcription in a translation can be seen as deeply conservative, where the target language is thought inadequate or unable to capture the source term's meaning. On the other hand, when the audience for such a text may likely have had no experience in the source language, transcription can offer a base for a more liberal, rather than a more restricted, interpretation of meaning, since what is not clear in the translation may migrate beyond the bounds of the word's semantic field in its source language and likely assert into alien ground in the target. Transcribed words in translations are difficult to restrain. In England these legal texts with visible contemporary borrowings derive from a context that was trilingual — in both

²⁰ Transcribed terms include *lahslit* (*laxslite* in Leis W1 42.2), *hundred* (22, 42.1, 43, 51, 52), *wer* (*were* at 8, 52.1), *nam* (44), *utlah* (*utlage* at 52.2). Sometimes a transcription merely offers the local term for what was described in Anglo-Norman; e.g. Leis W1 5 if anyone takes 'u chevals u bos u vaches [...] que est forfeng apelé en Engleis' (either horses or oxen or cows [...] which is called *forfeng* in English). Other times, the transcribed term is accompanied by a definition without reference to speech community: e.g. Leis W1 10.1 'sarbote, that is compensation for a wound'. Cultural equivalents for technical terms are fewer: e.g. *vavasour* for *ðegn*, *larun* for *ðeof* (47.3, 49), *seniour* for *laferd* (52), *serjant* for *hiredman* (52), and *plege* for *borh* (47). Terms appearing in the earlier chapters that are not translations show a similar division between preference for Anglo-Norman or English terms: *serf* (7), *vilain* (8.1, 20.3), *franch hume* (7), *gwage* (5.2, OE *wed*), versus *hengwite* (4), *hemfare* (2), *agwait* (2), *manbote* (7), *thein* (8), *hamsocne* (9, n. 20 (in London, British Library, MS Additional 49366)), *leche[fe]* (10, Liebermann's emendation from *lecheof*), *sarbote* (10.1), *socheman* (16), *marc* (17b), *munte* (18.1), *haumes* (20, OE *helmas*), *heimelborch* (21.1), *sache* (27.1), *soche* (27.1), *stretwarde* (28), *bides* (28), *guardireve* (28.1), *Mercenelabe* (2, 3, 7, 16, 22a), *Westsexenelabe* (2.2a, 3.2, 7, 8), and *Denelabe* (2.2, 2.4, 3.3) (though the last three, as combinations of place names and the OE *lah*, would at best have combined the same place name with AN *leis*).

²¹ Leis W1 45.1 < II Cn 24.1 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 326, 518).

²² *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. I: *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. by Richard M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 299–308, 317–22; *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. II: *1066–1476*, ed. by Norman Blake (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 414–35.

courts and the royal court — and so the decision to transcribe was not made either out of ignorance of Old English or Anglo-Norman or because of Latin's inadequacy. Rather, it likely shows that the authors and translators felt it perfectly acceptable to naturalize terms from a source or from vernacular languages in texts meant to describe those specific things that had been borrowed.

The second technique is etymological translation — again, this was a technique well-known to ancient and medieval translators.²³ Some in fact favoured this method above all others for its ability to capture — they thought — the exact meaning of the source's technical terms, without, it appears, as much interference from the existing semantic fields in the target language. In fact, use of this method is not surprising given the immense prestige etymology had as a part of *grammatica*. The early medieval encyclopedist Isidore of Seville used etymology to structure his treatment of all aspects of ancient knowledge in his aptly titled *Etymologiae*.²⁴ Isidore's later medieval readers learned that the 'true name' was the best source for the definition of anything. We can chuckle at a belief matched in no way by philological understanding in the work of Isidore's medieval successors, where Thurstan, archbishop of York, could have his name explained as derived from *turris stans* ('standing tower'), but we should remember that it was only in the nineteenth century that etymology founded on phonetic form claimed exclusive right to be considered valid, and that just before then, even the able mind of Dr Johnson could rest bemused but content with an explanation of the term *sirloin* as 'a title given to the loin of beef, which one of our kings knighted in good humor'.²⁵ The idea behind etymological translation is quite simple. A translator would break a word in the source into its parts and supply an equivalent in the target language for each,

²³ This technique produces loan translations or calques: e.g. Ælfric's grammatical terminology, where *praepositio* becomes *forsetnys* ('that which is put before'). On this, see Edna R. Williams, 'Ælfric's Grammatical Terminology', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 73 (1958), 453–62, and more generally Helmut Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1955).

²⁴ Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911); Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: Grammatica and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994).

²⁵ 'Turris stans' appears in an untitled poem by Hugh of Pontifract that has been inserted into the anonymous *Vita Thurstini Archiepiscopi* in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols (London, 1879–94), II, 261, discussed by A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 52. Hugh's goal is to show the symbolic resonances of his subject rather than to present anything like a true linguistic derivation. On Johnson's quip, see Alfred Bammesberger, *English Etymology* (Heidelberg, 1984).

and then, generally, glue the parts back together.²⁶ This technique self-consciously produced neologisms in the target language.

It is used by translators moving legal texts into Latin, but not by those moving legal texts into English or Anglo-Norman. In the Latin translations, the meaning and order of the parts in the case of technical terms often betrays the etymological method. *Hamsocn* ('assault on a house') becomes *domi invasio* ('at the house' + 'attack') in the *Consiliatio Cnuti*; in the same section, *griðbryce* ('breach of peace') becomes *pacis fractura* ('of the peace' + 'breach').²⁷ Here the translator has broken the English words into their parts and translated each part with a Latin equivalent, preserving their original order in the English term, something not done by the more conservative translator of the *Instituta Cnuti*.²⁸ The translator appears to have decided that there was no single word in Latin that was equivalent to these familiar English compounds and was unwilling to spell it out in anything more usual in Latin. The use of etymological translations in post-Conquest Latin legal texts did not lead to the establishment of a technical Latin vocabulary of English law. The translations were many, representing multiple borrowings, and the move from Latin to Anglo-Norman happened too soon after the move from Old English to Latin for these attempts to have put down deep roots as a language of law with scribes.²⁹ The phrases and terms created remained awkward constructions in post-Conquest legal Latin that exhibited little natural usage, where technical terms of all sorts swam in a sea of lexical and grammatical chaos.³⁰

²⁶ Consider, e.g., *pesah* ('Passover'), which is transcribed in the Septuagint, but becomes *uperbasis* by Aquila: see Brock, 'Aspects of Translation', p. 84.

²⁷ *Socn* is usually understood to mean 'jurisdiction' or 'court', but also covers 'assault' or 'attack' as an admittedly poetic usage.

²⁸ Cons Cn for II Cn 15 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 319). In the same place (II Cn 15), In Cn has 'inuasio in domo uel in curia quod dicunt hamsocne'. Quadr has 'griðbrece id est infractionem pacis et hamsocnam id est inuasionem mansionis'. Note, however, that these other two translations, though they invert the word order, are still products of the same etymological method.

²⁹ On the multiplicity of forms (as well as declensions) as evidence for borrowing and re-borrowing, see Richard Sharpe, 'Vocabulary, Word Formation, Lexicography', in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. by F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Toronto, 1996), pp. 93–105 (pp. 100–01).

³⁰ Consider Richard Sharpe's assessment of the Latinity of the *Quadripartitus* translator: 'The Prefaces of "Quadripartitus"', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. by George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 148–72.

The last of the three techniques — finding a cultural equivalent — was, like the others, a conscious choice of the translator. But here, instead of lifting the original into the target, as in transcription, or metamorphosing key vocabulary of the original into etymological replicas by the creation of calques, the translator chose from the existing menu of the target language's vocabulary the word closest to the meaning of the term in the source.³¹ This is the least conservative technique with respect to the source. Unlike transcription, which embeds elements of the source language within the target, and loan-translation, whose very awkwardness retards any migration of meaning from the source, cultural equivalents break the visible and etymological dependence of the translation on its source, and thus may be quite liberal in the target.³²

There are many examples of this technique being used for technical terms. However, finding a cultural equivalent was also difficult to do, and medieval translators (at least the ones who chose to write about it) knew that there was no word-for-word equivalence possible without some change in the meaning of the original. They knew the ancient world's judgement that a literary translation was not word for word — this was the technique of hack literalists — but sense for sense. In Horace's *Ars poetica*, the literary translator was no slavish *fidus interpres*; in Cicero's eyes, he must instead be an *orator*.³³ This technique also encouraged a broad spectrum of possible translations, ranging from simple equivalents — appearing literal — to revision and transformation of the original. Sometimes we can see the meaning of the source transformed through the selection of a word or phrase with a very different semantic field: the translator of the *Consiliatio Cnuti* renders *ealdorman*, the official who presided over shire courts, as *princeps*, and *æðeling*, a potential royal heir, as *basilides* ('royal or princely person'), choices that represent the general Romanizing tendency of this writer. For *ealdorman* he could very well have used

³¹ This can result in a semantic loan — when the source is filling the shape of the target. Consider, e.g., OE *synn* ('injury, enmity, feud'), which picks up the meaning of 'sin, crime' from Latin *peccatum*: see *Cambridge History of the English Language*, 1, 309.

³² Unless the source were well known, this technique also did not always allow for an easy retrogression to the original, which is where some medieval readers would site the authority behind the text. When faced with Alfred's translation of passages of Exodus, the translator of *Quadripartitus* merely returned to the Vulgate and excerpted the translated passages Alfred had used for his source. Alf El. prol.-49.5 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, 1, 26-45). He did not, however, emend his text to fit Alfred's source and thus included portions of Exodus that Alfred had decided not to translate.

³³ Horace, *Epistulae*, Liber 2, ed. by Niall Rudd (Cambridge, 1989); Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, c. 14, in Cicero, *Rhetorica*, ed. by A. S. Wilkins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1902-03).

comes as does the *Instituta Cnuti*, or *senior* as is found in other sources, but he chose instead a term with an entirely different denotation and connotation.³⁴ The effect in the *Consiliatio Cnuti* was to de-emphasize English particularism and to garb the whole of Cnut in a quasi-classical — literary classical — robe.³⁵

This method is the closest that legal translation technique ever comes to what classical writers would have called a literary translation. Cultural equivalency translation is Alfred's preferred method for rendering anything conceivably seen as technical in his selection of biblical laws.³⁶ The reasons for this choice have as much to do with the programme of translation Alfred initiated and participated in as with his conception of the purpose of the *Domboc*. Alfred's translations sought to bring Christian wisdom to his kingdom's elite. Such a goal is behind his choice of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, Augustine's *Soliloquies*, and the first fifty Psalms, all of which presented useful, topical guidance grounded in religious truth. Alfred's decision to translate some laws from Exodus as the first part of his code would at first glance appear to offer a similar wisdom founded on faith — the choice implies that these biblical laws formed the foundation upon which a Christian king's laws should be built. But unlike the Christian wisdom Alfred celebrated in his other translations, the wisdom in the *Domboc*'s introduction is presented as in part obsolete or revised, a statement of law crafted when the Hebrews were living rough in the Sinai and God knew they were not capable of better. This law was later ameliorated by Christ and his

³⁴ II Cn 58.1–2 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 350–51).

³⁵ Following an agenda less concerned with technical accuracy, the translator responsible for a mid-eleventh-century Latin version of King Edgar's late tenth-century code on tithes and witnessing procedures introduces ambiguity to the personnel involved in the procedures by using *dominus* ('lord') for *se hundrodes ealdor* ('chief man of the hundred'), as well as for *se landrica* ('the landed proprietor'), and *se landhlaforð* ('lord of the land or manor'), without always offering appropriate qualification to distinguish his lords. He adds to the problem by rendering another instance of *se hundrodes ealdor* as *principes hundred* ('princes, leaders, or ealdormen of the hundred'): IV Eg 8.1, 10, and 11 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 210, 212–13).

³⁶ This is Alfred's preferred method for terminology in all of his texts: for his translation of the psalms, see *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. by Patrick P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 45–53; for Boethius, see Nicole Guenther Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Albany, 2005), pp. 87–122. In all of his translations, Alfred made decisions on texts, style, syntax, and words that aimed for clarity in English, and did not resort to transcription or calques. The same is true, with two peculiar exceptions, of the person who translated IV Edgar into Latin.

apostles.³⁷ In Alfred's code, these laws from Exodus offered not the guidance of the other texts but rather a frame to explain Alfred's own laws — their context if not their authority. The ancient laws of the Hebrews, given by God, were nonetheless amendable; Christ and later his apostles established new interpretations and new priorities. So too the English kings of newly Christian peoples — first Æthelberht, then Ine and Offa. As with the Decalogue, so with these older English codes: some laws stayed, others changed, still others fell out of use. The appending of Ine's laws to Alfred's then fulfills a similar purpose to the translation from Exodus: Ine's laws on which his code was based, but which represented Alfred's people at a different time in their development from barbarism to full Christianity. In order for the translations from Exodus to serve this function, they had to be understood by Alfred's own contemporaries. Only then could Alfred's own ameliorations appear in their proper light.³⁸ So Alfred worried less about any latent technicality in the laws in Exodus — since no one was being asked to apply or follow them as written — and more about how to ensure that their meaning was clear.

It is in this context that Alfred's decision to seek cultural equivalents makes sense. It allowed him to turn the Mosaic code into a thoroughly West Saxon document. He nowhere uses transcription or produces any calques. Since the target is not particularly small, as would be the case if the technicality of certain terms was to be conveyed, Alfred adopts whatever English term comes closest to his source, using expansions liberally to ensure clarity and resonance. When someone has killed someone in Exodus, but had not lain in wait for him, God says 'constituam tibi locum in quem fugere debeat'.³⁹ Alfred, who has some legislation on sanctuary in the code proper, adjusts his Latin source to offer more exceptions based on intention ('Se ðe hine þonne nedes ofsloge oððe unwillum oððe ungewealdes'), and to offer something recognizably contemporary as a remedy: 'sie he feores wyrðe 7 folcryhtre bote, gif he friðstowe gesece'.⁴⁰ Alfred already has a procedure in place

³⁷ Alfred's tack may have originated under the influence of or as a response to his Continental adviser, Grimbald, who had been sent by Hincmar's successor as archbishop, Fulc. The Hincmarian strain in the preface has been discussed by Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 423–27, as well as recently in the context of all Alfred's works by Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 223–30.

³⁸ M. Treschow, 'The Prologue to Alfred's Law Code: Instruction in the Spirit of Mercy', *Florilegium*, 13 (1994), 79–110.

³⁹ Exodus 21. 13: 'I will establish for you a place to which that person can flee.'

⁴⁰ Af El. 13: 'If he killed him then because of need or unwillingly or unintentionally [...] he shall be entitled to life and the right to pay compensation according to folk custom, if he goes to a sanctuary' (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 30–31).

and leans on the Bible's language to bring divine law up to speed. Alfred has performed similar acts throughout the translated portion of his *Domboc*, guided by his view of his place as a Christian monarch and by the purpose of legislation for such a monarch, a view likely shaped by his Frankish advisers and their vision of law.

It was quite common in the Latin translations, and occasional in the Anglo-Norman translations, for the translator to combine two of the above methods, usually transcription with either an etymological rendering or a cultural equivalent. In their lists of royal dues, both *Quadripartitus* and the *Instituta Cnuti* employ pairs to clarify meaning, in slightly different ways. While *Quadripartitus* offers 'fyrdwite, id est forisfacturam expeditionis, griðbrece, id est infractionem pacis', and so on, combining transcription with another method and assuming in almost every case that the reader knows the transcribed term is English, the *Instituta* uses the English term (identified as such) to gloss the translation: 'dimissionem belli, quod Angli dicunt ferdwite, fractionem pacis, quod dicunt griðbrece'.⁴¹ As titles for the personnel of justice changed, similar insurance was needed to ensure no misunderstanding. For instance, one reviser of *Quadripartitus*, when faced with the transcription *aldremannus* for *ealdorman*, doubled up, adding a cultural equivalent, 'aldremanni id est comitis', to make clear that this *ealdorman* in the early eleventh-century code of Cnut was the equivalent of an earl (Latin *comes*) rather than a mere civic official in charge of a ward, which is what *ealdorman*/alderman had come to mean in the early twelfth century when the translator was at work.⁴² In the late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman translation of the *Leges Edwardi*, the translator has maintained the Old English term *wer* ('wergild') as the price in English law for breach of peace, and turned the Latin definition ('id est pretium sue redemptionis') into an Anglo-Norman cultural equivalent: 'par lais Engleis sun were ceo est sa rancun'.⁴³ This combination of two methods ensured greater control over the

⁴¹ Cf. Quadr's 'fyrdwite, that is the fine of military service, griðbrece, that is breach of peace', with In Cn's 'neglect of war, which the English call *ferdwite*, breach of peace, which they call *griðbrece*': II Cn 15 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 319).

⁴² *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 351. For the early twelfth-century meaning of *aldremannus*, see the charter (dated 1111) of the dean and canons of St Paul's, London, witnessed by 'Turstenus aldermannus de la warde', noted by title not so much because he was an important man to have witness an act, but more to distinguish him from 'Turstenus telarius' who follows immediately in the witness list: *Report on the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1883), p. 68a.

⁴³ 'in English law by his *wer*, that is his ransom [the price for his release]': Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.I.1, fol. 5 (translating ECf retr 12.3).

results than either method on its own. It offered the best of both worlds for a translator who cared about the technical meaning of the source texts.

What did English legal translators prefer? Each translator is different in the balance of techniques used to translate technical terms. Alfred, for example, always provided a cultural equivalent to the text of Exodus. As mentioned above, he never felt the need to transcribe any peculiar terms. One can well accept Malcolm Godden's conclusion that Alfred is purposefully trying to demonstrate the ability of English to convey the meaning of any aspect of classical Latin culture, though, as discussed above, it also made sense given his use of Mosaic law as a starting point and frame for his law. Alfred does this not by transporting his readers back to his source, but rather by bringing his sources up to the time and idiom of his audience, and does this without apparent strain. In fact, English translators before Byrhtferth do not complain of the inadequacy of English in the task of translating Latin. Later translators, unlike Alfred, used all three methods, though in differing degrees. It is unclear to what extent translators consciously played with these different methods. It may be that the writer we know best, the *Quadripartitus* translator who also authored the *Leges Henrici Primi*, changed his mind in successive drafts of the two texts.⁴⁴ The other two Latin translations of the Anglo-Norman period mix cultural equivalents and calques with transcriptions, often doubling up to, I think, tie down the meaning of the term so that it shifts as little as possible during the move from Old English into Latin. The Anglo-Norman translations follow suit, either, as in the case of the *Leis Willelme*, adopting a similar combination of methods or, for the later translations of the *Articuli* and *Leges Edwardi*, following and adjusting the language of the source to reach the same result as the Latin translations and the *Leis Willelme*.

This consideration of translation methods leads to a few conclusions. First, the technique used for translating technical terms from Latin to Old English was not favoured for translating from Old English to either Latin or Anglo-Norman French.⁴⁵ Alfred's English version of Exodus prefers cultural equivalents to the exclusion of calques or transcription, perhaps a sign of the confidence the translator-king had in his native tongue, but also a method encouraged by the purpose behind the translation. The twelfth-century Latin and Anglo-Norman translations, however, mix their methods, using mostly transcription supported by a cultural equivalent

⁴⁴ *Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. by L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972), pp. 12–28.

⁴⁵ Though note the exception of the Latin translation of IV Eg, which uses cultural equivalents only.

or, much less often, by an etymological translation. In these translations, there is clearly more concern to get the denotation of particular words legally right, compared to contemporary translations of other genres — histories, saints lives, even biblical texts.⁴⁶ Even as late as the Anglo-Norman translations of the *Articuli* and *Leges Edwardi*, done, Liebermann thought, between 1189 and 1193 (or between 1155 and 1193), the translator has not only maintained the Old English terms — whether in their original or Latinized forms — but has added some terms not in the source to clarify, in one case, a pronoun that was an ambiguous referent.⁴⁷ This approach reflects the same mix of methods present in the Latin translations, though retaining at an even further remove from the original authority of the Old English technical language of law.

The fulsome presence of English legal terms in even Anglo-Norman translations leads to a second observation. The sound of English, it appears, was not particularly painful to French ears in court, contrary to what William of Malmesbury

⁴⁶ Geffrei Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. by Alexander Bell (Oxford, 1960); *La vie d'Edouard le confesseur*, ed. by Östen Södergård (Uppsala, 1948); *Poème anglo-normand sur l'ancien testament*, ed. by Pierre Nobel, 2 vols (Paris, 1996). This concern is not true of all texts: cf. Sanson of Nantuil, *Les proverbes de Salemon*, ed. by Claire Isoz, 3 vols (London, 1988–94), which combines close translations of the source text with the text itself and adds a long commentary to explain it, passage by passage. Ælfric stands out for his concern that translators of texts with theological meaning get it right: Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS s.s., 17 (Oxford, 1997), p. 173 (Latin preface).

⁴⁷ Clearer in the translation of the *Leges Edwardi* than the *Articuli*, where the principle clause (W1 art 4) containing Old English terminology (Frenchmen in England in the time of King Edward followed English custom, 'quod ipsi dicunt on hlote et an scote' ('which they called *on hlote* and *on scote*')) is omitted and the only other term in the code, *ran* (W1 art 6), is dropped: instead of 'ran, quod Angli dicunt apertam rapinam que negari non potest' ('*ran*, which the English call open theft which cannot be denied'), the text reads 'de k'il apelent aperte roberie u ravine u ke li hume ne pot nent nier' ('that which they call open robbery or rapine which a person cannot deny') (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, 1, 487–89). In the Anglo-Norman *Leges Edwardi*, on the other hand, almost all of the English proverbs embedded in the Latin source are retained and all transcriptions and their cultural equivalents (in French) remain. The translator has in fact added Old English terms where they had been covered by general language in the Latin source; ECf 22.5 alludes to those 'qui non habet has consuetudines' (who do not possess these customs), while the Anglo-Norman translation spells it out (Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.I.1, fol. 6) just before the clause in order to define 'has consuetudines' — 'ke unt cestre devandites custumes on lur tere de sake e de soke e de tol e de tem e de ynfongeneþeof' (who have those customs on their own land concerning *sake* and *soke*, *tol* and *tem*, and *ynfongeneþeof*). The translator appears (fol. 5^v (ECf 15)) to de-Latinize the term *felagus* in the source, recording it as *fulaghe* in an attempt to capture the spelling of the late Old English term *feolaga* ('fellow, partner').

had claimed more generally in his Latin translation of Colman's English *Life of Wulfstan* and in his own *Gesta regum Anglorum*, and noted as well by Benedict of Peterborough and the Ramsey Chronicler.⁴⁸ These comments need to be received with necessary skepticism. William wrote that he was leaving out many of the personal names 'lest the barbarity of the words wound the delicate ears of readers'.⁴⁹ It is likely, in fact, that Normans were eagerly learning their Old English paradigms — maybe not in the weeks after the Conquest, but certainly within the next two generations.⁵⁰ It was in their interests to learn the sound of that barbaric tongue because it was by its sounds that they gained their wealth.⁵¹

Third, we see that etymological translation is generally avoided. There are at least three reasons I can think of for this. The first reason is that the social context made it irrelevant. The world of English law was always filled with English speakers — whether as their first, second, or third language.⁵² A translator operating in this world, aware of its languages, would likely have recognized that an etymological translation in Latin would make his source less, not more, understandable than if he used transcription or found a cultural equivalent. All methods could pass difficulties in the source onto the translation, but the etymological method more so as it produced neither a familiar word nor preserved the original in transcribed form which might be interpreted by a native speaker, but instead created something

⁴⁸ Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula sancti Thomae*, I. 15 and IV. 31, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by J. C. Robertson, 7 vols (London, 1875–85), II, 47 and 205; *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray (London, 1886), p. 176.

⁴⁹ '[...] me nomina testium pene omnium suppressisse, ne uocabulorum barbaries delicati lectoris sautaret aures': William of Malmesbury, *Vita sancti Wulfstani*, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), p. 58 (Book I, Chapter 16.5); *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–99), I, 176 (Book II, Chapter 115).

⁵⁰ A linguistic assimilation by the Francophones is likely to have occurred within a few generations: Ian Short, 'Tam Angli quam Franci: Self-Definition in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS*, 18 (1995), 153–75 (p. 156).

⁵¹ As George Garnett has emphasized, what the Normans needed was access to the lands, rights, and privileges they had appropriated with the Conquest: *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 16–17.

⁵² Men like Ansketil of Bulmer, translator in Yorkshire for an important inquest in 1106, must represent a large class of royal and baronial servants. See the analysis of Domesday Book translators in Hiro Tsurushima, 'Domesday Interpreters', *ANS*, 18 (1996), 201–22. Ansketil appears in *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, ed. by R. C. Van Caenegem, 2 vols (London, 1990), I, 139.

awkward and strange.⁵³ The difficult work of abstracting the roots of words, finding their equivalents, and then using the resultant neologism to represent a technical term still in common use by those in the legal system at every level was work that would hardly prove uniformly successful or appreciated. It should be remembered that it was only later, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, that the language behind the law begins to catch a case of Francophilia, and the surviving Old English terms, embedded in charters, treatises, and translations, begin to find themselves replaced with cultural equivalents understood by Francophones in the Plantagenet court.⁵⁴

The second reason is that what Norman kings confirmed was often — explicitly — the *laga* rather than the *lex* or *leges* of Edward the Confessor. *Laga* is a standout lexical borrowing from English, for example, in Henry I's coronation charter. There Henry tells his barons and vassals, both French and English, that 'lagam Eadwardi regis vobis reddo'.⁵⁵ Its presence there implies, I think, a conscious decision to use it instead of its Latin cognate. The use of the English — even in its transcribed form — would have been recognized as such by those who knew English. Patrick Wormald has argued that the *Quadripartitus-Leges Henrici* set was inspired by Henry's coronation charter, and I have argued that the *Leges Edwardi* was similarly inspired by Stephen's coronation charter and charter of liberties for the church in 1135–36; we both here acknowledge the tremendous power the monarchy had to shape even legal composition that was essentially unofficial and private.⁵⁶ Might it be that the translators of the early twelfth century were similarly responding not only to the authorization of the pre-Conquest law, but also to the language in which it had been issued and which, given royal employment of its jargon, retained authority after 1066 and well into the twelfth century?⁵⁷

⁵³ See O'Neill's comments at *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation*, ed. by O'Neill, p. 45.

⁵⁴ The common terms for jurisdiction, 'sac and soke, toll and team, and infangentheof, still appear in newly issued charters until just after the middle of the twelfth century; after that, they only recur in enrollments of older charters.

⁵⁵ Here (c. 13) and in an earlier clause on murder fines (c. 9), the transcription of the Old English word *laga*, itself a borrowing from Scandinavian, is used: Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 119 ('I return to you the law of King Edward').

⁵⁶ Patrick Wormald, 'Quadripartitus', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. by Garnett and Hudson, pp. 111–47; O'Brien, *God's Peace*, pp. 46–48.

⁵⁷ Consider how the process of renewing writs under new kings or new holders of those writs would have reaffirmed the very language of rights and dues: Sharpe, 'Use of Writs', pp. 283–91.

This leads to my third reason. It looks as if the original language generally retained linguistic authority in the legal texts in England between 1066 and the end of the twelfth century. When we look at those translators elsewhere who have adopted etymological translation as their technique, we find that their products were intended to replace the source as the authoritative text. This goal justified the recourse to the unusual but semantically more accurate locutions produced by calques. By analogy, consider a group of much earlier translators wrestling with similar problems of technical meaning in the language of their source. In second-century Judea, Aquila and his school of translators were attempting to improve the clarity of the Septuagint not because it was a good crib for overly Hellenized Jewish boys at the Yeshiva, but because — as Sebastian Brock has argued — the Greek version was accepted as divinely inspired by then. Aquila recognized the Septuagint's severe ambiguities because of its dependence on transcription and wanted to improve the Greek translation's ability to capture the meaning of the original by creating calques. The bond with the original remains in the translator's head; but for the audience, the translation stood on its own.⁵⁸ This was clearly not so for versions of the *laga Edwardi*.⁵⁹ The various translations of this *laga* frequently pointed back to their Old English roots, whether oral, hinted at in the case of the Latin *Articuli* and clearer for the *Leges Edwardi* and the first half of the Anglo-Norman *Leis Willelme*, or textual for *Quadripartitus*, *Instituta Cnuti*, *Consiliatio Cnuti*, and the Anglo-Norman French translations of Cnut in *Leis Willelme*, and of the *Articuli* and *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*.

My last point follows directly from that final observation. We cannot interpret the use of transcription in all of the post-Conquest translations or treatises as a sign that the terms were increasingly archaic and could not be represented by anything current. Some might argue that the *leges*, and I include in this group the translations, were archaizing because their contemporaries no longer located the authority of their law in any Old English terminology. I think kings confirmed something

⁵⁸ Brock, 'Aspects of Translation', pp. 84–85.

⁵⁹ Transcribed OE terms occur in records of all sorts that attempted to describe a portion of the *laga Edwardi*, while several post-Conquest manuscript collections of OE texts, including the most comprehensive, chose to copy almost all the texts in their original language. See, however, In Cn in *Textus Roffensis*, replacing OE Cnut, which is a curious exception to this practice: Mary P. Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of Old English Laws', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 171–92; Patrick Wormald, 'Laga Edwardi: The *Textus Roffensis* and its Context', *ANS*, 17 (1994/95), 243–66; and Bruce O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti* and the Translation of English Law', *ANS*, 25 (2003), 177–97.

that had real meaning to the audience, and the treatise writers — some, perhaps most — tried to capture an acceptable version of that promised law in their treatises and translations. All their transcription was not in vain. These post-Conquest translators of legal texts did not share the views of a much later French translator of English literature, the Abbé Prevost, who said of his translation of Richardson's *Pamela*, 'I have suppressed English customs where they may appear shocking to other nations, or made them conform to customs prevalent in the rest of Europe. It seemed to me that those remainders of the old and uncouth British ways, which only habit prevents the British themselves from noticing, would dishonor a book in which manners should be noble and virtuous'.⁶⁰ For the post-Conquest translators, these *unkup* customs of the conquered English were worth preserving, not effacing, since it was by them that law, albeit an increasingly narrow portion, was defined long after the fall of the last native English-speaking king.⁶¹

⁶⁰ This attitude helped the Abbé shrink Richardson's seven volumes to four: quoted in translation in the introduction to *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London, 1992), p. 9.

⁶¹ The Anglo-Norman translation of the *Leges Edwardi* preserves an English expression (ECf retr 23 in Cambridge University Library, MS Ec. I.1, fol. 6^v) on those who enjoyed one's hospitality, both the *kup* and *unkup*, for relatives and foreigners.

MULTILINGUALISM AT THE COURT OF KING ÆTHELSTAN: LATIN PRAISE POETRY AND *THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH*

Samantha Zacher

It was the Venerable Bede who first stressed the linguistic diversity of the British Isles, drawing attention at the start of his *Historia ecclesiastica* (Bk I) to the contemporary currency of no fewer than five languages, including English, Welsh, Irish, Pictish, and Latin:

Haec in praesenti iuxta numerum librorum quibus lex diuina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, *Anglorum uidelicet Brettonum Scottorum Pictorum et Latinorum*, quae meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis.¹

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¹ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969; repr. 1992), pp. 16–17. 'At the present time there are five languages in Britain, just as the divine law is written in five books all devoted to seeking out and setting forth one and the same kind of wisdom, namely the knowledge of sublime truth and of true sublimity. These are the *English, British, Irish, Pictish*, as well as the *Latin* languages; through the study of the scriptures, Latin is in general use among them all.' Emphasis mine. The languages cited in Bede's passage are interpreted by Colgrave and Mynors as follows: "British" here means what we now call Welsh. The Irish language was afterwards taken by the *Scotti* to Scotland, but *Scotti* in Bede always means the Irish race whether in Scotland or Ireland. *Scottia* refers to Ireland alone though he uses *Hibernia* too, apparently using both terms indiscriminately as in the first paragraph of IV. 26. Pictish is some form of Celtic language of which very few traces survive. Latin of course refers to the language of the Church, not to that of any particular people' (p. 16, n. 1). One could make the case, however, that Bede imagined Latin as a 'living' language parallel to the others mentioned in the passage.

Bede's idealized vision of a harmoniously polyglot Britain would seem to offer an important corrective to the biblical catastrophe of the Tower of Babel, which so famously associated multilingualism with faction and discord. But it also offers a great deal more. Bede's deceptively simple simile comparing the languages of migration-period 'Britain' to the five books of the Bible produces a curious host of contradictions: the figure on the one hand describes a system of linguistic plurality, wherein each of the five languages can be compared to one of the five books of the Pentateuch, and on the other, one of imposed monolingualism, wherein four of the five languages are all but subsumed by Latin as the governing *lingua franca et sancta* (to use an anachronistic phrase). This contradiction is rendered even more pronounced by the assertion contained in the simile that the means of dissemination of the Bible among the people of the British Isles is through Latin; Greek and Hebrew are effectively obfuscated as antecedent biblical languages.

While the above passage from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* concerns itself explicitly with the interplay of languages in 'Britain', Bede's model more fully approximates a scenario of *multiculturalism* rather than *multilingualism*, since all but one language (Latin) can be understood to stand in for 'peoples' (here the term *gens Anglorum* presumably represents a collective of Germanic tribes).² It is therefore illuminating that Bede, when returning to the same question of Pictish, Irish, British, and English influences in Book V. 23 of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, uses a similar ethnic schema to render an updated and contemporary (presumably early eighth-century) political and religious map of Britain:

Pictorum quoque natio tempore hoc et foedus pacis cum gente habet Anglorum, et catholicae pacis ac ueritatis cum uniuersali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. Scotti qui Britanniam

² Leo Sherley-Price's Penguin translation of this passage attempts to solve these difficulties embedded in Bede's simile by emphasizing cultural differences rather than linguistic ones: 'At the present time there are in Britain, in harmony with the five books of the divine law, five languages and four nations — English, British, Irish, and Picts. Each of these have their own language; but all are united in their study of God's truth by the fifth — Latin — which has become a common medium through the study of scriptures.' See his *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People with Bede's Letter to Egbert and Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede*, trans. by Leo Sherley-Price, revised by R. E. Latham, with trans. of the minor works, introduction, and notes by D. H. Farmer (London, 1955; repr. 1990), p. 45. Sherley-Price's translation arguably smooths over the suggestive complexities of Bede's simile. See, however, Sarah Foot, who compellingly argues that 'one of Bede's intentions in writing his *History* was to demonstrate that, despite their separate ethnic origins, the Anglo-Saxons had been brought together into one *gens* by the unifying power of Christian faith, transmitted to them by Rome': 'The Making of *Anglecynn*: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest', cited from the reprint in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. by Roy M. Liuzza (New Haven, 2002), pp. 51–78 (p. 59).

incolunt, suis contenti finibus, nil contra gentem *Anglorum* insidiarum moliuntur aut fraudium. *Brettones*, quamuis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem *Anglorum*, et totius catholicae ecclesiae statum pascha minus recto moribusque inprobis inpugnent, tamen et diuina sibi et humana prosus resistente uirtute in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum, quippe qui, quamuis ex parte sui sint iuris, nonnulla tamen ex parte *Anglorum* sunt seruitio mancipati.³

In this corresponding passage, Bede transparently replaces Latin as the common language of the British Isles with the predominant rule of the English,⁴ and aligns English dominion with the broader scope of the Catholic Church itself (an assertion which boldly claims rule by divine right).⁵ By construing these obviously parallel passages, Bede's point was presumably not to diminish the importance of language as a sign of cultural diversity, but rather (it would seem) to emphasize the notion that language and politics emerge as two sides of the same coin. Bede, in fact, treats language as constitutive of reality: though he speaks of an integrated *gens Anglorum* as if it were a current and observable truth, the unified rule of England would not materialize until the first half of the tenth century.⁶

Although the two Bedan passages can hardly be said to encapsulate the attitudes of an entire historical period, they arguably raise important methodological questions for gauging Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards applied models of multilingualism. Bede's account remains visionary in the connection it forges between language and politics, as this alliance manifestly continues to be a shaping force for subsequent literary expressions of nationhood.⁷ As Patrick Wormald has argued,

³ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 560–61. 'The *Picts* now have a treaty of peace with the *English* and rejoice to share in catholic peace and truth of the Church universal. The *Irish* who live in Britain are content with their own territories and devise no plots or treachery against the *English*. Though for the most part the *Britons* oppose the *English* through their inbred hatred, and the whole state of the Catholic Church by the power of God and man alike, they cannot obtain what they want in either respect. For although they are partly their own masters, yet they have also been brought partly under the rule of the *English*' (my emphasis).

⁴ Bede seems to mean 'Englishmen' rather than 'Angles'; see Patrick Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', in *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, ed. by G. Rowell (Wantage, 1992), pp. 13–32.

⁵ For the association of a unified England with a unified church, see below, p. 80, note 8.

⁶ On Bede's idealized use of expressions of 'Englishness', see Foot, 'Making of *Angelcynn*', p. 51. On the question of hegemonial rule, see, for example, Patrick Wormald 'The Making of England', *History Today*, 45.2 (1995), 26–32.

⁷ The suggestion that Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* speaks to a national identity politics has been made before; see especially Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens*

it was Bede who first gave force to the concept of an amalgamated 'Englishness'; the lasting influence of Bede's articulation can be measured by the fact that 'all [post-migratory Germanic peoples] came to be called English', and that Bede's *gens Anglorum* is translated as *Angelcynn* and *Englisc* by virtually all subsequent Anglo-Saxon authors.⁸ Although in this paper I will look ahead some two hundred years to the reign of Æthelstan (924/25–39), the same questions remain pertinent for analysing the literary productions of that period. Æthelstan styled himself as the first *rex totius Britanniae* ('king of all of Britain');⁹ however his court operated in a mode that was closer to a polyglot ideal than any that had come before (even if its multilingualism is evidenced in a predominantly literary format). Building upon the observations of previous scholars concerning the richly international character of court life itself during Æthelstan's reign, the following will explore whether

Anglorum', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by Patrick Wormald and others (Oxford, 1983), pp. 96–129, and his 'Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7 (1994), 1–24. On the formation of similar expressions of nationhood in the Chronicle poems (an argument which is fundamental for this paper), see especially Janet Thormann, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems and the Making of the English Nation', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by A. J. Frantzen and J. D. Niles (Gainesville, 1997), pp. 60–85 and her 'The Battle of Brunanburh and the Matter of History', *Mediaevalia*, 17 (1994 for 1991), 5–13; and Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 28–32.

⁸ Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins', p. 120. While Bede seems to have popularized the expression *gens Anglorum*, he did not invent it. Wormald persuasively argues that Bede's idea of a unified England derives from Gregory the Great's vision of a single *ecclesia*. As Wormald suggests, Bede takes his lead from Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, who, during the 679 Council of Hatfield was styled *archiepiscopus Brittaniae*, and who referred to himself as 'archbishop of the English' in his *Penitential*. Wormald concludes that 'from Theodore's arrival at the latest, all Anglo-Saxons were exposed to a view of themselves as a single people before God — a people who, though they lived in "Britannia" or "Saxonia" and though they called themselves Saxons as well as Angles, were known in Heaven as the "gens Anglorum"' (ibid., p. 125).

⁹ On the significance of this regal designation, see Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins', pp. 110–12. The argument has likewise been made numerous times that in the earliest charters of Æthelstan's reign his subscription appears as *Angul Saxonum rex* or *rex Anglorum* (as in S 396, 397, 399, 400, 403, and 405), whereas by 931 Æthelstan more commonly subscribes as *rex totius Britanniae* (see S 416, 421, 422, 430, 438, 446, and 448 for his subscription). See further Simon Walker, 'A Context for "Brunanburh"?', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 21–39. Similar titles were apparently used earlier to promote the Mercian king Offa (as a 'king of the English' or 'king of the whole country of the English'; however, the evidence for this title derives mainly from spurious charters that date to the tenth century (see Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins', p. 100).

there is consonance between the court's 'realized' internationalism and those encomiastic and literary expressions that celebrate it. One especially important text for consideration in this regard will be *The Battle of Brunanburh*, otherwise known as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle poem for the year 937 (in Chronicle manuscripts A, B, C, and D), which constitutes one of the most important panegyric poems written for King Æthelstan in any language. One task will be to query whether this poetic celebration of Æthelstan's victory over a host of 'Dublin Norse, Western Isles Vikings, Man Vikings, Orkney Vikings, and Scots'¹⁰ can be viewed as participating in a larger multilingual economy that is pervasive in other poems written during the same time period. As a genre, the Old English Chronicle poems have already been widely and productively studied against the background of Norse pre-Cnut praise poetry generated in England (where different emphases have been placed upon verbal and generic borrowings and influences).¹¹ This approach has been particularly helpful in illuminating correspondences in the use of invented vocabulary and figurative language in the Old English Chronicle texts (particularly through their perceived parallelisms with skaldic poetry). Despite such willingness to look beyond Old English models for generic inspiration, scholars have not yet fully taken into account the potentially important influence of a handful of Latin poems written in praise of Æthelstan by apparently Continental authors with confirmed English contacts. As we shall see, these Latin panegyric poems were written in the so-called 'hermeneutic' style popularized especially in tenth-century England — a form which by definition employs multilingual discourse through its insistent use of complex Greek and sometimes nonce Latin forms. Such poems, clearly known at Æthelstan's court, arguably offer additional models for viewing the use

¹⁰ Paul Hill, *The Age of Athelstan: Britain's Forgotten History* (Stroud, 2004), p. 123.

¹¹ See especially Matthew Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry in Viking Age England', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 51 (2000), 349–70, who argues that the age of Æthelstan marks a new era of Anglo-Scandinavian contact (esp. p. 353) that would have enabled literary borrowings of this nature. Two additional studies considering Norse influences upon *Brunanburh* include that by John D. Niles, 'Skaldic Technique in *Brunanburh*', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 356–66, and Joseph Harris, 'Brunanburh 12b–13a and Some Skaldic Passages', in *Magister Regis: Studies in Honor of Robert Earl Kaske*, ed. by Arthur Groos and others (New York, 1986), pp. 61–68. For a more general study on the influence of Skaldic kennings in Old English verse, see (for example) Roberta Frank, 'What Kind of Poetry Is *Exodus*?', in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. by Daniel G. Calder and T. C. Christy (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 191–205, and her 'Did Anglo-Saxon Audiences Have a Skaldic Tooth?', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 338–55.

of multilingual puns in such vernacular poems as *Brunanburh* itself.¹² Moreover, while the comparison of Chronicle poems with Norse praise poetry has been used as a means of illuminating their seemingly oral texture (though clearly ‘fixed’ within the ‘writerly’ milieu of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle),¹³ the comparison with Latin poems containing obviously visual wordplay (through their use of acrostics and other onomastic puzzles) serves to open new layers of interpretation for *Brunanburh*, if not the Chronicle poems at large. The following offers three main points of analysis: part one will briefly investigate the multilingual and multicultural milieu at Æthelstan’s court; the second will treat two Latin poems composed in praise of King Æthelstan, highlighting their use of multilingual puns as a reflex of the genre; and part three will make a case for viewing *The Battle of Brunanburh* as an extension of this courtly poetic tradition.

I

Bede’s aforementioned discussion of languages in the early migration period (in Book I of his *Historia ecclesiastica*) provides a potent theoretical map against which to measure the literary ethnographies of later periods. By the reign of King Æthelstan, Bede’s mysterious Pictish had all but been replaced by the omnipresent Norse, and a whole variety of other languages vied for contention. In fact, Æthelstan’s court has a good claim to be the most cosmopolitan of the whole Anglo-Saxon period. The flurry of activity linking Æthelstan’s court and the Continent has been shown to exceed even the hubbub of international connections fostered by his grandfather, King Alfred the Great (849–99). As Paul Hill has noted, ‘Æthelstan was well known on the Continent and used his political skills and contacts better than perhaps any monarch of his age’.¹⁴ This sentiment has been echoed widely by such scholars as J. A. Robinson, Simon Keynes, and Michael Lapidge, who have

¹² On the popularity of the so-called ‘hermeneutic style’ in the tenth century, see Michael Lapidge, ‘Schools, Learning, and Literature in Tenth-Century England’, in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 1–48 (pp. 11–12), and his ‘The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature’, in *ibid.*, pp. 105–49. See further below, p. 102.

¹³ As Matthew Townend points out, however, the oral texture of the Chronicle poems can be expressed in a variety of ways, and not solely as a mode of composition. As Townend convincingly argues, it may be that they were written down with the intention of performing them at the appropriate point in time (Townend, ‘Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry’, p. 353).

¹⁴ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, p. 106. For a detailed description of Æthelstan’s dealings with the Continent and the social milieu at his court, see again Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, esp. pp. 101–23.

written extensively about the political, social, and cultural spheres of Æthelstan's court.¹⁵ Even select examples highlighting Æthelstan's Continental contacts provide a useful diagnostic for gauging the deeply multicultural and multilingual ethos that must have pervaded his court. As both Hill and Sean Miller have shown, it seems especially striking, for example, that political marriages aligned no fewer than four of Æthelstan's half-sisters with the noblest houses in Francia and Germany: such peace-weaving missions impressively aligned Edward the Elder's daughter Eadgifu with King Charles the Simple, ruler of Western Francia, Eadhild with Duke Hugh the Great of France, Edith with Emperor Otto I, the eventual King of Germany and Italy, and arguably the first 'Holy Roman Emperor', and Ælfifu with another 'obscure prince, possibly Conrad the Peaceable, King of Burgundy'.¹⁶ These betrothals could only have been arranged by a powerful ruler in command of a formidable vortex of political power. This perception of the court is perhaps most poignantly enshrined in the marriage gifts brought by Duke Hugh to Æthelstan upon venturing his marriage suit, since the treasures lavished upon Æthelstan were said to be 'fit for a Carolingian Emperor',¹⁷ a status rarely asserted beyond 'English' borders (to use an obvious anachronism). Beyond marriage alliances, Æthelstan in turn fostered and harboured members of the noblest lines of Francia and Norway in times of political duress. For example, Æthelstan notoriously gave asylum to Louis, the son of Charles the Simple and Eadgifu, when his father was overthrown and imprisoned, a decision which was to play a seminal role in securing the future of this eventual King of France.¹⁸ A more tenuous, but no less famous case is reported by Snorri Sturluson in *Heimskringla*, who claimed that Æthelstan fostered Prince Hákon (the son of the Norwegian king Harold Fairhair). The alignment was apparently felicitous, as Hákon is afterwards referred to in Norse sources as *Adalsteinsfóstri* ('the foster-son of Æthelstan'), acknowledging the importance of this connection with Æthelstan in title.¹⁹ Æthelstan's action in this

¹⁵ J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 25–80; Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201; and Lapidge, 'Schools, Learning, and Literature'.

¹⁶ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, p. 107. On the wider political implications of these various royal marriages, see *ibid.*, pp. 106–08.

¹⁷ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, p. 117. For the association of Æthelstan with the majesty of Charlemagne, see Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Æthelstan's Empire: An English Charlemagne?', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by Wormald and others, pp. 250–72.

¹⁸ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 106–07.

¹⁹ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, p. 108.

matter (although perhaps undertaken begrudgingly) was undoubtedly instrumental in winning him the positive designation 'Æthelstan the Good' among the Norwegians and solidifying his reputation as 'one of the noblest men in Scandinavia (*Norðrlond*)'.²⁰ Æthelstan is still further purported to have harboured Breton clerics at his court who were fleeing Viking incursions,²¹ and his goodwill appears to have occasioned donations of relics and letters recording this appreciation.²² These situations of fosterage and sanctuary depict Æthelstan as a shrewd international player, aware of the importance of selectively building international ties.

However, not all of Æthelstan's contacts with the Continent were motivated by political or military action; Æthelstan was a prolific collector of relics, some of which were amassed during visits by English clergy to foreign monasteries, while others were gifts from abroad.²³ The court of Æthelstan also attracted a host of foreign dignitaries. As Sean Miller has noted, 'visiting scholars [to England at the time] included Germans, Irish, Franks, Bretons, Italians, and even the Iclander Egill Skallagrímsson'.²⁴ This climate of multiculturalism undoubtedly engendered wider exposure to different customs and languages. One gauge of this linguistic intermixture can be derived from the fact that these visits sometimes occasioned poems about the King and his court, as in the laudatory Norse panegyric *Aðalsteinsdrápa* (attributed by the saga author to Egill himself after he fought among Æthelstan's ranks at the Battle of Vínheiðr, often held to be the same Battle of Brunanburh),²⁵ and also the far less positive Welsh *Armes Prydein Vawr*, which (however mythically) appears to foretell a victory over the English.²⁶ Some of these

²⁰ Magnús Fjalldal, *Anglo-Saxon England in Icelandic Medieval Texts* (Toronto, 2005), p. 34.

²¹ Caroline Brett, 'A Breton in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: A Letter in British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius A.xv', in *France and Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by David Dumville and G. Jondorf (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 43–70. Also see Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 109–10.

²² Brett, 'A Breton in England', pp. 43–57.

²³ Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', pp. 143–201.

²⁴ Sean Miller, 'Æthelstan', in *The Blackwell's Encyclopedia of the English Language*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford, 1999), pp. 16–17.

²⁵ For a condensed summary of some scholarship treating the problem of identification between Vinheiðr and Brunanburh, see especially Michael Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 20 (1980), 200–17 (p. 216 n. 68). See also Magnús Fjalldal, 'A Farmer in the Court of King Athelstan: Historical and Literary Considerations in the Vínheiðr Episode of *Egils Saga*', *English Studies*, 77 (1996), 15–31.

²⁶ On the supposed rebellion in the poem, see David N. Dumville, 'Brittany and "Armes Prydein Vawr"', *Études Celtiques*, 20 (1983), 145–59.

visitors also undoubtedly engendered wider exposure to a variety of intellectual materials in other 'bookish' languages, including Hebrew and Greek. One such catalyst is often presumed to be the Breton scholar Israel the Grammarian, whose presence at the court of King Æthelstan between 924 and 939 has been alleged on the basis of a reference in a text known as the *Alea euangelii* ('Gospel Dice'), which survives in a twelfth-century manuscript in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122 (written c. 1140).²⁷ Michael Lapidge has tentatively proposed Israel the Grammarian's authorship of several poems written in the so-called 'hermeneutic' style, containing arcane Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, such as the notoriously complex *Rubisca*, which may have been known at the court of King Æthelstan.²⁸ As we shall see from what follows, the circulation of panegyric texts containing rudimentary Hebrew etymologies appears to be a trend that extends well beyond the literary output of a single known author.²⁹

²⁷ Lapidge's transcription and translation of the passage from the *Alea euangelii* are as follows: 'Incipit alea euangelii quam Dubinsi episcopus Bennchorensis detulit a rege Anglorum id est a domu Adalstani regis Anglorum depicta a quodam Francone et a Romano sapiente id est Israel [expanded silently from *isrl*]' ('Here begins the Gospel Dice which Dubb Innse, Bishop of Bangor, brought from the English King, that is from the household of Æthelstan, King of England, drawn by a certain Franco [or: by a certain Frank] and by a Roman scholar, that is *Israel*'). See Lapidge's 'Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 87–104 (p. 89). According to this passage, the game of the gospel dice is said to have been drawn by a certain *Israel*, who is curiously later referred to as a *Iudeus Romanus* ('Roman Jew'). Since the presence of Jews in Anglo-Saxon England is nowhere else recorded, Michael Lapidge has asserted that the *Israel* in question reflects a botched reference to the famed Breton scholar Israel the Grammarian. It is nevertheless interesting to note that the author of this twelfth-century text was so apparently impressed by the cosmopolitan multiculturalism of Æthelstan's court that he supposed the presence of a Jew to be self-evident. For a more recent revival of the interpretation of *Israel* as a Jew, see David J. Wasserstein, 'The First Jew in England: "The Game of the Evangel" and a Hiberno-Latin Contribution to Anglo-Saxon History', in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. by Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin, 2002), pp. 283–88.

²⁸ David Howlett attributes the *Rubisca* to a courtly ethos rather than directly to Israel the Grammarian, arguing that the 'diction from this text in an Anglo-Latin and Old English glossary dated 16 April 928 suggest that the poem, if not the poet, like bishop Dub Innse of Bangor and Israel the Grammarian, may have been known at the court of King Æthelstan'. See his '*Rubisca*: An Edition, Translation, and Commentary', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 71–90.

²⁹ On the use of Hebrew language and etymologies in Anglo-Saxon literature in general, see Damian Fleming, 'The Most Exalted Language: Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Hebrew' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 2006).

II

The multicultural milieu of Æthelstan's court in turn provides an important context for viewing the literary productions associated with that court. Especially relevant in this context are two Latin praise poems presumed to be dedicated to King Æthelstan. The first of these is an eight-line poem, *Archalis clamare triumphum*, which survives in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 677.³⁰ T. A. M. Bishop has surmised that the manuscript was written in France in the third quarter of the ninth century, although the poem itself was presumably added to the last page of the manuscript (fol. 78^v), after it came to England, probably in the mid-tenth century.³¹ The poem has been printed several times, though as Michael Lapidge notes, it has not been systematically or thoroughly interpreted;³² while considerable attention has been given to the analysis of the poem's occasion, many of its literary details remain opaque.

The poem itself contains both an acrostic, which spells out the name *Adalstan*, and a telestich designating a certain *Iohannes*. The *Adalstan* in question is generally taken to be King Æthelstan himself, while *Iohannes* more controversially has been interpreted as the name of the poet, and several additional attempts have been made to identify him. Michael Lapidge, for one, has argued that the author in question is John the Old Saxon, the famed tutor of King Alfred, who had close alliance with the court throughout the reign of Edward the Elder. Lapidge cites dialectal evidence for this association, highlighting the unusual orthography of *Adalstan*, which (in addition to the expected exchange of a Latin *d* for a Germanic *ð*) contains the substitution of *a* for *e*, which Lapidge argues may be symptomatic of Continental and possibly Low German usage (also consonant with the dialect of

³⁰ The poem has been edited by Michael Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 61–98. Lapidge republished the article without changes in his *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 49–86. I cite Lapidge's *ASE* publication throughout.

³¹ For Bishop's argument concerning the dating of the main manuscript as well as its later annotations and glosses, see his *Early Carolingian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), esp. p. 2 as well as 'An Early Example of Insular-Caroline', in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1968), 396–400 (both cited by Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 72). The chief texts included in the manuscript are Aldhelm's *Enigmata* (fols 1–16), his *Carmen de virginitate* (fols 17–64), as well as Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (fols 64–78). One can only surmise whether the scribe who added the *Archalis clamare triumphum* to the codex perceived a thematic link between this short panegyric and these longer poems, though the riddling context of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* is suggestive for our enigmatic poem.

³² See Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 72, n. 50 for earlier editions.

John the Old Saxon).³³ Lapidge also explains the occasion for which the poem may have been composed: he surmises that it was written to commemorate a ceremony described by William of Malmesbury in which Alfred bestowed royal arms upon his grandson. While this twelfth-century chronicle describes the event as a 'knighting ceremony', Lapidge contests that the detail is faulty, arguing the comparison with a ceremony in which the young Alfred the Great was given royal arms as he was elevated to the status of consul (as described in a fragmentary letter addressed by Pope Leo IV to King Æthelwulf, and possibly also in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 853 ABC, though the latter clearly states that the Pope *hine* [=Alfred] *to cyninge gehalgode*, 'consecrated him [=Alfred] as king').³⁴ Gernot Wieland has since disputed Lapidge's reading, arguing that the association between the two ceremonies lavished upon Alfred and Æthelstan requires implausible emendations to the source material.³⁵ Wieland's solution is to reinterpret the *Iohannes* of the *telestich* as a second name for Æthelstan himself, a reading which he supports by citing the use of the term *nomina* (plural) to describe the 'names' of *Adalstan*. As we shall see, however, this pluralized form need not refer (as Wieland claims) to the names encoded in the acrostic and *telestich*, but rather to word puzzles embedded elsewhere in the poem.

I would like to offer some additional observations about the function of wordplay in the poem and its larger rhetorical function with the genre of panegyric poetry of the period. Lapidge's transcription and translation of the poem is as follows:

'Archalis' clamare, triumuir, nomine 'SaxI'.
 Diue tuo fors prognossim feliciter aeuO:
 'Augusta' Samu- cernentis 'rupis' eris -elH, [MS *augustae*]
 Laruales forti beliales robure contrA.
 Saepe seges messem fecunda prenotat altam; iN

³³ See, however, the use of the spelling *Adalstan* in the record of the post-Conquest *Annals of Ulster* for the year 936 (alias 937) describing the Battle of Brunanburh: 'Adalstan autem rex Saxonum magna uictoria ditatus est.' The quotation is cited from Patrizia Lendinara, 'The Battle of Brunanburh in Later Histories and Romances', *Anglia*, 117 (1999), 201–35 (p. 212).

³⁴ Charles Plummer edits this chronicle in his *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1992), p. 64.

³⁵ Gernot Wieland, 'A New Look at the Poem "Archalis clamare triumuir"', in *Insignis Sophiae Arcator: Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Michael Herren on his 65th Birthday*, ed. by Carin Ruff, Ross G. Arthur, and Gernot R. Wieland (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 178–92. Wieland's article appeared in print after I gave this paper as a talk, but I am pleased now to be able to incorporate his findings in this article.

Tutis solandum pertrinum solibus agmeN.
 Amplius amplificare sacra sophismatis arcE.
 Nomina orto- petas donet precor, inclita -doxuS.³⁶

Beginning with the framing acrostic and telestich, it can be seen that the embedded onomastic references work without too much strain to the syntax of the poem, with a few clear exceptions: in line 3, for example, the tmesis separating the name *Samu-bel* requires a rearrangement of the final three letters (*bel* to *elh*) to preserve the final *H*. Lapidge has also argued that the *Diue* of line two (otherwise a vocative for the divine) requires some shuffling in order to achieve the verb *Uide* to fill out the missing verb in the line. Interestingly, the onomastic play is not restricted to the acrostic alone, but as Lapidge (and Robinson before him) have noted, can also be detected in several puns on the name *Æthelstan* (taken as ‘noble stone’), encoded in line 1 as *archale saxum*, in line 3 as *augusta rupis*, and perhaps in line 6, with *petrinus* (the Greek adjective for ‘stony’), forming a multilingual aggregate of puns that run between Old English, Latin, and Greek. The macaronic texture of the poem is further fleshed out by several Graecisms, again noted by Lapidge in line 1 with *archale* (with the Latin suffix *-alis*), line 2 with *prognossim* (for ‘prophecy’), line 7 with *sophismatis* (for ‘learning’), and finally in line 8, *ortodoxus*, which is split across the last line. Lapidge argues that this last term does not mean ‘orthodox’ per se (a reading which would not much make sense), but rather can be taken as shorthand for *gloriosus siue perfectus*, a meaning supplied from English glosses, forming an honorific title often associated with God.³⁷ As we shall see in the context of the panegyric *Carte dirige gressus* (to be analysed shortly), this epithet is elsewhere used for *Æthelstan* himself, though the repetition is obscured by Lapidge’s emendation of the manuscript reading *perfecta gloriosa* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A II to *per facta gloriosus* (see below Table 5, section 3). Lapidge notes several other strange forms in the poem, including the rare adjective *belialis*, which he argues is used to mean ‘devilish’, referring to the enemies of *Æthelstan* to be warded off, though one could argue a potential bilingual pun on the Hebrew term *belial*

³⁶ Lapidge, ‘Some Latin Poems’, pp. 72–73: ‘You, prince, are called by the name of “sovereign stone”. | Look happily on this prophecy for your age: | You shall be the ‘noble rock’ of Samuel the Seer, | (Standing) with mighty strength against devilish demons. | Often an abundant cornfield foretells a great harvest; in | Peaceful days your stony mass is to be softened. | You are more abundantly endowed with the holy eminence of learning. | I pray that you may seek, and the Glorious One may grant, the (fulfilment implied in your) noble names.’

³⁷ Lapidge, ‘Some Latin Poems’, p. 73 n. 56, cites G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, 7 vols (Leipzig, 1888–1923), v, 375.

(meaning ‘without god’, forming a sharper antithesis to the divine praise elements in the poem) and also the Latin *bellum* (meaning ‘war’) which works especially well if we remove the Latin suffix *-alis* following the pattern of *archalis*. Lapidge also flags the surprising *triumuir*, for which he rejects the classical sense as ‘one member of a triumvirate’, understanding the term instead as a *nomen dignitatis*, although as we shall see this remains a strange title for a fledgling prince.

Lapidge’s reading can possibly be pushed still further to illuminate new layers of this ‘riddle’. For example, it might be asked why the poet uses tmesis to separate the two terms in lines 3 and 8. The general assumption has been that the poet was at a loss to fill the demands of the acrostic/telestich with correct metre. In the first instance where tmesis occurs, Lapidge reads a reference to the biblical Samuel who prophesies the successful future reign of David (just as our poet foretells the future kingship of the young Æthelstan). Lapidge cites I Samuel (or I Kings) 7. 12 for context, taking the *augusta rupis* in line 3 of the poem as a poetic rendering of the biblical *Lapis adiutorii* (‘Stone of help’; a calque for the Hebrew *Ebenezer*), ‘which Samuel placed against the Philistines to signify the Lord’s support of the Israelites’.³⁸ Wieland, however, has argued a closer biblical source for lines 3–6 in II Samuel 22. 2–5, which states ‘Dominus petra mea, et robur meum, et salvator meus. Deus fortis meus sperabo in eum [...] Torrentes Belial terruerunt me’.³⁹ As Wieland convincingly demonstrates, the poem exhibits clear verbal parallels for the biblical *fortis*, *belial*, and *robur*, providing further equivalences for *petra* with its synonymical *rupis* (line 3) and also the adjective *petrinus* (line 6). Wieland also reinstates the manuscript reading *Augustae* for Lapidge’s emended *Augusta* of line 3 (where he inserts a nominative singular), arguing that *Augustae* can be read parallel to *rupis* as a partitive genitive, to be translated as “you will be [part] of the noble rock of Samuel the Seer”.⁴⁰ Wieland’s rereading of the syntax allows Æthelstan to partake typologically of Samuel’s narrative. The invocation also perhaps invites further association of Æthelstan with the apostle Peter, to whom Jesus is reported to have said (in Matthew 16. 18) that ‘tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversum eam’.⁴¹

³⁸ Lapidge, ‘Some Latin Poems’, p. 73.

³⁹ The quotation from Samuel is as cited and translated by Wieland, “Archalis clamare triumuir”, p. 186. ‘The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer. The God is my rock; in him will I trust [...] the floods of ungodly men made me afraid’.

⁴⁰ Wieland, “Archalis clamare triumuir”, p. 186.

⁴¹ ‘Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’

Given that Æthelstan is treated as such an important touchstone of praise in the poem, this type of extended exegetical interpretation is perhaps warranted.

But I would argue still further that the tmesis of line 3 calls attention not just to the name of Samuel in its entirety, but also to the first part of the name by itself. If we recall the widely cited Hebrew etymology for Samuel as ‘the name of God’, a secondary reading of the line emerges:⁴² just as the *nomen* in line 1 signals that *archale saxum* is to be read as a calque for Æthelstan, so the *Samu-* element in line 3, meaning ‘name’ in Hebrew, signals the same onomastic function for the *augusta[e] rupis*. The final *hel* in Samuel may either be a throwaway element (as it is not translated by Lapidge), or may be used to associate this earthly ‘noble stone’ with God himself (in Hebrew *el*), who is also poignantly described in the Samuel passage as the rock (*Dominus petra mea*, building on the common Hebrew epithet for God as the *tsur Israel* or the ‘rock of Israel’). What emerges, then, is a puzzle inside a puzzle. This solution of course raises the question of the much more opaque use of tmesis in the final line. The term ‘ortodoxus’ when split into its constituent elements means ‘right glory; correct belief’. The use of tmesis together with yet another form of *nomen* seems to hint at the presence of a third coded reference. If one were to take *doxus* as the key element, being roughly parallel to the *archale* and *augusta* of lines 1 and 3, then the pattern requires an adjoining element for ‘stone’. As it stands, one possibility is to link *doxus* either to the *petrinum* of line 6, or to try to read *petas* (‘you may seek’) in the final line as *petras* (‘stones’); the latter substitution indeed supplies the missing direct object for *donet*, though it makes for an utterly anticlimactic reading of the final line. Alternatively, if the poet is using *orto-* as the key element (following *Samu-*), we might be able to read it as the ablative form of *ortus* (the past participle of the verb ‘to rise’, commonly used of the rising of the sun). This *ortus* then conceivably picks up on the reference to the sun in line 6, which is appropriately highlighted through the repetition of *sol-* in *solandum* (‘needing to be softened’). This reading in turn may account for the otherwise seemingly formulaic language describing the flourishing of England under Æthelstan’s reign as a *seges fecunda*, yielding a *messem altam* of line 3, while reaching the heights of the *arx sophismatis* of line 7.⁴³

⁴² The interpretation *nomen eius deus* was known and used by several patristic commentators, including Jerome, Eucherius of Lyon, Pseudo-Gregory, Isidore of Seville, and Pseudo-Melito. For these references, see Mathias Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973), p. 405.

⁴³ This interpretation surely agrees with received astronomical lore concerning the course and movements of the sun: consider, for example, the following description of the powers of the summer sun found in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*: ‘Nam uadens longius ad meridiem hiemem

This praise of Æthelstan as a 'rising power' comparable to the sun echoes other known praise-poems for the King, as in Egill's *Aðalsteinsdrápa*, where the kenning *foldgnárr* has been taken to mean 'one who towers above the earth', and in the Irish *Annals of Ulster* for the year 938, which describes Æthelstan as the *cleith n-ordain iartair domain* (which Patrizia Lendinara translates as 'the summit [=ridge-pole] of the dignity of the west of the world').⁴⁴ However we read the last line, the detection of not two but three epithets for Æthelstan seems helpful in explaining the odd use of *triumuir* in the opening line, which then provides more than a quaint archaism, and in fact alerts us to the presence of three hidden epithets for this ruler. Such wordplay is arguably fundamental to the mechanism of praise elicited in the poem.

A second poem, usually called *Carta dirige gressus* (again according to the first line of the poem), is also among the praise poems discussed by Lapidge for the reign of Æthelstan.⁴⁵ The poem survives in two manuscripts, the most complete of which appears in BL, MS Cotton Nero A II, fols 10^v–11^v, itself a composite manuscript, although the section in which the poem appears likely dates to the late tenth or eleventh century, possibly written either at Winchester or Wessex (perhaps at St Germans in Cornwall).⁴⁶ The second appears in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. II. 17, pt I, an early eighth-century gospel book probably written at Lindisfarne, where the poem is copied into the lower margin of fol. 31^v by a late tenth- or possibly eleventh-century hand.⁴⁷ The poem has been most fully treated by

facit, ut hibernis humoribus ac pruinis terra pinguescat. Accedens propius ad septentrionem aestatem reddit, ut fruges maturitate durentur, et quae sunt in humidis incocta, feruefacta mitescant' ('When it approaches closer to the North, it brings summer back, so that crops grow firm in ripeness, and what was unripened in damp weather mellows in its warmth'). For the text and translation, see W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 153–54 and *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge, 2006), p. 102.

⁴⁴ See Lendinara, 'Battle of Brunanburh', p. 212.

⁴⁵ Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', pp. 83–93.

⁴⁶ Neil Ker argues for a Winchester origin on the basis of similarities he notes between the hand that wrote the portion of the manuscript in which the *Carta dirige gressus* appears and that responsible for London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XIV. See Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; repr. 1990), pp. 200–01. Lapidge, however, argues for Wessex, and perhaps St Germans in Cornwall, judging from the distribution of localized saints in the manuscript (see Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', pp. 84–86).

⁴⁷ On the origin, provenance, and dating of the manuscript, see Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', pp. 83–84.

Lapidge, whose edition is replete with a host of emendations required to make good sense of the poem.⁴⁸ Table 5 records Lapidge's emended text and translation together with the two manuscript texts from which he collates his version.⁴⁹

The event celebrated in the poem is the meeting at *Eamotum*, held in July 927, where Constantine, king of the Scots, pledges his allegiance to Æthelstan.⁵⁰ The historical background necessary for understanding the events in the poem is as follows: stanza 4 describes the death of Sihtric, the Scandinavian king of York, who had forged an alliance with Æthelstan in 926. Upon Sihtric's death the treaty fell apart, sending Æthelstan once again to war in Northumbria. Æthelstan defeats Sihtric's son Olaf, and then Guthfrith, Sihtric's brother, who had taken refuge with Constantine, king of the Scots. The renewed alliance mentioned in stanza 5 is that established at *Eamotum* in 927 between Æthelstan, Constantine, and other northern leaders, effectively making Æthelstan the king of all of Britain, a point highlighted by the praising poet, who writes that Æthelstan rallied with his Saxon army *per totum Bryttanium* (a designation echoed in literature and coinage for the period).⁵¹

Though the poem itself is not as enigmatic as the preceding acrostic/telestich, it does contain an abundance of word- and sound play. Especially noteworthy, for example, are the repetitions of the elements *rex-* and *reg-* throughout the poem, beginning with the opening *dirige* and *regis* (in stanza 1), *rege* and *reginam* (in stanza 2), *regit* and *rex* (in stanza 3), which seem engineered to bolster the notion

⁴⁸ Other treatments of the poem include that by W. H. Stevenson in his 'A Latin Poem Addressed to King Athelstan', *EHR*, 26 (1911), 482–87; repr. in S. Gaselee, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1928), p. 61. As Lapidge notes ('Some Latin Poems', p. 83), Stevenson was the first to recognize the poem's debt to an early ninth-century Carolingian poem addressed to Charlemagne by a *Hibernicus exul*, which was edited by E. Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, MGH, 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 399–400. For the text of the poem, see below, p. 93, Table 5. For earlier editions and discussions of the Æthelstan panegyric, see Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 83, n. 104. Also see now Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 199–201.

⁴⁹ Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 87.

⁵⁰ Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 92. The earliest editions, by contrast, situate the poem in a post-Brunanburh context; see especially T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English language*, 2 vols (London, 1841–43) II, 179.

⁵¹ See especially C. E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athelstan, King of England 924–939: A Survey', *British Numismatic Journal*, 42 (1974), 35–160. For a list of citations in Anglo-Saxon charters of the titles given to English kings from the reign of King Alfred to Æthelstan, see Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 209–11.

Table 5. Versions of the *Carta dirige gressus*.

Lapidge's Translation	Lapidge's Reconstructed Text	Cotton Nero A II, fols 10 ^v –11 ^v	Durham A. II. 17, pt 1, fol. 31 ^v
1 Letter, direct your steps sailing across the seas and an expanse of land, to the king's burh.	Carta, dirige gressus per maria nauigans tellurisque spacium ad regis palacium.	Carta dirige gressus per maris et nauium tellurisque spatum ad reges palatium	Quarta dirie gressus per maria nauigans stellarumque spacium ad regem spalacium
2 Direct first of all your best wishes to the queen, the prince, the distinguished ealdormen as well, the arm-bearing thegns.	Rege primum salutem ad reginam, clitonem, claros quoque comites, armigeros milites.	Regem primum salute reginem et clitanam claros quoque commitis militis armieros	Regem primum salutem regem non aditunem clerum quoque conditum armites milierum
3 Whom he now rules with this England [now] made whole: King Æthelstan lives glorious through his deeds!	Quos iam regit cum ista perfecta Saxonia: uiuit rex Æþelstanus per facta gloriosus!	Quorum regem cum Æþelstanum ista perfecta Saxonia uiuit rex Æþelstanum perfecta gloriosa	
4 He, with Sictric having died, in such circumstances arms for battle the army of the English throughout all Britain.	Ille, Sihtric defuncto, armat tum in prelio Saxonum exercitum per totum Bryttanium.	Ille Sictric defunctum armatum in prelia Saxonum exercitum per totum Britannium	Illic Sitric defuncto armatura prelio sex annum excerssitum uiuit rex Adelstanum
5 Constantine, king of the Scots, hastens to Britain: by supporting the king of the English [he is] loyal in his service.	Constantinus rex Scottorum aduolat Bryttanium: Saxonum regem saluando, fidelis seruitio.	Constantinus rex Scottorum et uelum Bryttanium saluando regis Saxonum fideles seruitia	Constantine
6 King Æthelstan said [these things] through the announcements of Peter: may they be well, live long, through the Saviour's grace!	Dixit rex Æþelstanus per Petri preconia: sint sani, sint longeuī saluatoris gratia!	Dixit rex Æþelstanus per Petri preconia sint sani sint longeuī saluatoris gratia	

of a unified rule under Æthelstan. But of particular interest is the onomastic pun played out in stanza 3 (which Lapidge misses), where we find the name *Æpelstanus* flanked by *Saxonia* (obviously referring here to the Saxon people, but also recalling the Latin word for 'stone' in Latin, as *saxum*) and *gloriosus*, creating a bilingual Germanic and Latin pun on his name. Also of interest is the aforementioned duplication of *perfecta* within the same stanza 3, the second of which Lapidge has emended to *per facta*, both in order to illustrate the fact that Æthelstan became 'glorious through his deeds' and to preserve the apparent rhyme scheme. But if we recall the gloss from the previous poem on *ortodoxus* (line 8; split through tmesis) as *gloriosus siue perfectus*, we may have another encoded title for Æthelstan, who, despite the erratic rhyme scheme in the Cotton Nero text, is fittingly named as being both *perfectus* and *gloriosus*.⁵² This possible name pun is supported by several others in the poem: for example, in stanza 5 we find the predictable pairing of *Constantinus* with *fidelis* (an equivalent to *constans*; a pun also possibly exploited by Cynewulf in his poem *Elene*).⁵³ But perhaps we can find one too in stanza 6, in the phrase *per petri preconia*, which Lapidge and all subsequent editors have rendered as 'through the announcement of Peter', taking Peter to be the proper name of the author of the poem.⁵⁴ In support of this identification, Lapidge cites a cyrograph dated to 925 x 933, involving a land grant with the consent of Æthelstan, and a subscription by a certain Petrus as a possible reference to the Peter of the poem. However, if we consider the traditional etymology of Petrus as 'stone', here as a partial pun on Æthelstan, named in the preceding line, we find an interesting echo from the previous poem. The *Peter/petra* question becomes all the more significant (as indeed do many of the other seemingly problematic variants in the two manuscripts) when one considers the poem's primary source, a Carolingian poem written before 810, by one anonymous *Hibernicus exul* ('Irish exile'). A text

⁵² See above, p. 88.

⁵³ Though Cynewulf does not pun directly on the name of Constantine, the Emperor is nevertheless depicted throughout (lines 1–211) in terms of his spontaneous faith in God, despite the fact that his proper conversion to Christianity takes place only after his battle with the Huns. Especially telling in this regard is the passage in *Elene*, lines 85–87, which discuss Constantine's reaction to the vision of the angel of God and the Holy Cross: 'He was sona gearu | þurh þæs halgan hæs hræðerlocan onspeon, | up locade, swa him se ar ahead.' For the interpretation of these lines as a conversionary moment for Constantine, see Jackson J. Campbell, 'Cynewulf's Multiple Revelations', in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed. by Robert E. Bjork (New York, 1996), pp. 229–50 (pp. 233–34).

⁵⁴ Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 92.

and translation of the poem are provided in Table 6 below; portions in bold indicate clear verbal borrowings between this poem and the *Carta dirige gressus*.⁵⁵

Table 6. A Carolingian poem composed by an anonymous *Hibernicus exul*.

1 Letter, with Christ as your companion, across the expanse of earth reach now the splendid palace of the Emperor.	Carta , Christo comite, per telluris spatium Ad Caesaris splendidum nunc perge palatium ,
2 Bring greetings to the Emperor and his troops, to the glorious boys and the holy girls.	Fer salutes Caesari ac suis agminibus, Gloriosis pueris sacrisque virginibus.
3 Traveling by a safe route, with the help of Christ, say the following well-disposed words before the Emperor:	Via pergens prospera per Christi suffragia: Prona coram Caesare verba dicas talia:
4 Say that may the Emperor Charles with perpetual celebration be healthy, long- lived, and blessed with victory.	Dic, ut Caesar Karolus perpeti praeconio Sit sanus, sit longevus , sit felix victoria.
5 Say that may the ruler of all give him help, comfort, keep, and expand the empire.	Dic, regnator omnium det sibi subsidium, Confortet, custodiat, dilatet imperium.
6 Say that as he had rightly been a supporter of just kings, may Christ be the same to Charles and those faithful to him.	Dic, ut fautor fuerat iustis rite regibus, Fiat Christus Karolo ac sibi fidelibus.
7 Say that may the royal boys throughout the broad expanses be healthy and long-lived through the grace of the Savior.	Dic, regales pueri per prolixa spatia Sint sani, sint longevi salvatoris gratia .
8 May they be worthy of a royal crown, say, lucky in honors and victorious in the manner of their father.	Sint coronae regiae digni, dic, honoribus Felices ac victores genitoris moribus.
9 To the royal girls, say, let there be lofty grace, let there be holy, sensible, true virginity.	Regalibus puellis, dic, fiat sublimitas, Sit sancta, sit sobria, sit vera virginitas.
10 Let Christ love the virgins for their chastity; let him grant, as he has promised them, glory in the future.	Christus amat virgines propter castimoniam, Det, ut illis promiserat, in futuro gloriam.

⁵⁵ The Latin text is derived from Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, pp. 399–400, as cited by Lapidge, ‘Some Latin Poems’, p. 83. Translation is mine.

11 Say that may the lord protect the weapon-bearing Franks in this way: the King, the clergy, the companions, the warlike warriors.	Dic, protegat dominus sic Francos armigeros , Regem , clerum , comites , milites belligeros.
12 After this, letter, ask the Emperor continually that he remember me, a wretched little servant of Christ.	Post haec, carta, Caesarem rogato continuo, De me Christi servulo sit memor exiguus.

This poem addressed to Charlemagne uses many of the same terms that are echoed in the later *Carta dirige gressus* (as the elements in bold indicate), and the intention of the borrowing is obviously to flatter Æthelstan as a type of *caesar*, a title fitting for a king who styles himself elsewhere as *basileus*.⁵⁶ The Carolingian poem's rhyme in couplets accounts for much of the strain shown in adapting these lines into quatrains in the later poem. And yet comparison of this poem's stanza 4 with the *Carta dirige gressus*'s stanza 6 reveals that the *per petri preconia* of the English poem is likely either a reconstruction or misconstruction of the Hibernicus exul's *perpeti praeconio* ('with perpetual celebration' or 'announcement'). It seems at least as likely that the *petra* of the *Carta dirige gressus* was engineered to signal an onomastic pun for Æthelstan. Despite these and other problems stemming from Lapidge's construction of names and titles in the poem,⁵⁷ his edition remains helpful in bringing to light new contexts for praise poems rendered in honour of Æthelstan.

III

In the Latin poems examined above, the use of similar onomastic puns highlights the currency of this rhetorical schema as a recognized panegyric device. The two praise poems furthermore set an important context for looking at other encomia composed for Æthelstan in English either during or just after his reign. Although

⁵⁶ For the use of the term *basileus* in charters naming Æthelstan, see Walter de Gray Birch, '*Cartularium Saxonicum*': *A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, 3 vols (London: London, Whiting, 1885–93; repr. New York: Johnson Reprinting, 1964), nos 671 (for the year 930), 683 (for the year 931), 708 (for the year 935), 709 (for the year 936), 711 (after the year 936), 728 (for the year 938), and 730 (for the year 938). These references are collated from Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 210–11.

⁵⁷ It is perhaps also worth pointing out that Lapidge's emendation in stanza 2 to *claros* ('distinguished') among the list of addressees immediately renders the poem more heroic, and one wonders whether the *clerum* ('clergy') attested in both the Carolingian source and in the Durham text is more suitable as an adaptation.

there have been a number of articles dedicated to the analysis of wordplay in *Brunanburh*,⁵⁸ so far as I am aware, there has not been a sustained attempt to associate this feature in the Old English poem with either the content or style of the Latin praise poems investigated above.⁵⁹ And yet it is surely tempting to entertain the poem's potential as a literary sequel to the *Carta dirige gressus*, in which the *fidelis Constantinus* of the Latin poem shows up again as the villain of *Brunanburh*, this time styled contrarily as an *eald 'inwidda'* ('old adversary' or 'wicked one'), the same epithet used of Holofernes in *Judith*, line 28a.⁶⁰ But while the inability to affix a firm time or place for the composition of *Brunanburh* makes it difficult to establish its chronology relative to these Latin poems,⁶¹ it is fitting at least to think of them as a product of the same multicultural and multilingual milieu established at the court.

Since the informing political and manuscript contexts for *The Battle of Brunanburh* have elsewhere been discussed at length, I will treat in this context the mechanics of praise and wordplay in the poem. In a brief but comprehensive article, Paul Beekman Taylor explores elements of onomastic play on the name *Æþelstan* throughout the Chronicle poem, particularly in the repetition of the root *-ædel-* ('noble').⁶² As Taylor points out, the most obvious echoes appear in the title *æþeling* ('prince'), used twice for Eadmund in lines 3a and 57a, poignantly highlighting his role as successor to the King. There may also be a resonance in line 7b where we are told that these two noble sons of Edward broke the shield wall of their enemies *swa him geaþele was* ('as was noble or innate for them', as the hapax

⁵⁸ See especially Paul Beekman Taylor, 'Onomastics and Propaganda in *Brunanburh*', *ANQ*, n.s., 7 (1994), 67–68.

⁵⁹ I note as an important exception a paper written by Jayne Carroll, entitled 'Concepts of Power in Anglo-Scandinavian Verse', which Dr Carroll was kind enough to share with me after I delivered this paper at the York conference on 'Multilingualism'. Simon Walker also briefly entertains the idea that the Old English Chronicle poem forms a companion to the *Carta dirige gressus*, although he just as quickly dismisses the view, arguing that while the Latin poem was likely written by someone in Æthelstan's courtly entourage, *Brunanburh* was composed both away from the court and perhaps after the King's death; see his 'A Context for *Brunanburh*?', pp. 21–39. Likewise, although Paul Hill prints *Brunanburh* alongside of the Latin poems written for Æthelstan, he does not insist upon any point of commonality beyond their historical relevancy (see his chapter on 'The Legend of King Athelstan', in *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 195–208).

⁶⁰ All citations for the *The Battle of Brunanburh* are from *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (London, 1938). Campbell uses as his base text the A-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, fols 26^r–27^r).

⁶¹ For a lengthy overview of the problems scholars have faced in identifying the place where the Battle of Brunanburh was fought, see most recently Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, pp. 135–60.

⁶² Taylor, 'Onomastics and Propaganda', pp. 67–68.

geæpele has often been translated). What Taylor does not mention is that it looks like the poet deliberately twisted a commonplace to achieve the pun, since the phrase *swa him gecynde was* appears twice elsewhere in poetry (in *Daniel*, line 3, and *Beowulf*, line 2696), and also several times in prose.⁶³ The poet's echo in the phrase *æpele gesceaft* ('a noble creation', line 16), describing the sun, likewise seems deliberate. Although Earl Anderson has objected to reading the sun's *setl* (meaning 'resting place' or 'seat') as an anthropomorphized allusion to a retainer's hall-bench or king's throne, this image may nevertheless form a telling analogue for the image of Æthelstan as a rising sun in the Latin acrostic poem *Archalis clamare triumuir* discussed earlier.⁶⁴ This use of onomastic play as a rhetorical device that generates praise for the King is bolstered by the use of name play elsewhere in the poem. Often cited in this context is the wordplay upon *Anlaf* (the fated leader of the Norse troops, whose name in Old English probably means 'solitary remainder'), mentioned in lines 26a, 31a, and 46b and also echoed in the various *laf*-forms found in the poem, as in *hamora laf*- ('remnant of the hammer', line 6b), *herelaf*- ('remnant of the army', line 47), and *daroda laf* ('remnant of spears', line 54), thereby linking weapons of destruction with those destroyed.⁶⁵ It may also be possible to spot encomiastic language in the poet's association of leader and troop through the use of wordplay upon *Eadmund* ('blessed hand') and *heard handplega* ('hard hand-play') of the Mercians on his side in line 25a.

Moreover, it is significant that the wordplay in the poem is clearly multilingual. John D. Niles argues (building upon the work of Joseph Harris before him) for the presence of Norse, and in some cases specifically skaldic, elements in the poem.⁶⁶ According to Niles, these Nordicisms may range from the more obviously foreign

⁶³ Prose contexts include (but are not limited to) Ælfric's homily for the *Invention of the Cross* [ÆCHom II.19], *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s., 5 (London, 1979), p. 175, lines 35–36; the anonymous *Life of St Margaret*, 'The Old English Lives of St. Margaret', ed. by Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1994), 152–70 at paragraph 14.1; and a few occasions in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 975 (D, E texts) and 1042 (C text). For references, see the electronic *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, ed. by Antonette DiPaolo Healey and others, <<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/proxy.library.cornell.edu/doecorpus/>> [last accessed 16 July 2011].

⁶⁴ Earl R. Anderson, 'The Sun in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, 12b–17a', *Notes & Queries*, n.s., 20 (1973), 362–63.

⁶⁵ Dolores Warwick Frese, 'Poetic Prowess in *Brunanburh* and *Maldon*: Winning, Losing, and Literary Outcome', in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson (Toronto, 1986), pp. 83–99.

⁶⁶ Niles, 'Skaldic Technique', pp. 356–66. See further Harris, '*Brunanburh* 12b–13a', pp. 61–68.

words for longships (in the double reference to the *cnear* ('ship', line 35a) and the *nægledcnearrum* ('nailed ship', line 53b))⁶⁷ to several of the seemingly more subtle kennings for 'battle', such as the *garmittung* ('spear-meeting', line 50a), the *gumena gemot* ('meeting of men [in an obviously hostile context]', line 50b), and the *wæpengewrixl* ('exchange of weapons', line 51a), all of which he notes are 'strikingly original' and bear comparison to well-established Norse kennings. Niles's article sheds light on many of the cruces in the poem, where parallels in Old English texts simply do not provide illuminating contexts. Two of his remarks are of special interest here concerning the use of place-names and nationalities in the poem. The passage in question in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, lines 53–56, is as follows (italics here and throughout indicate Campbell's emendations for the A-text of the Chronicle; bold text is added for emphasis):

Gewitan him þa *Norþmen* nægledcnearrum, [MS *normen*]
 dreorig daraða laf, on **Dingsmere**,
 ofer deop wæter **Difelin** secan, 55
 eft **Ira land**, æwiscmode.

[The **Norsemen** departed, that bloody remnant of spears, in nailed ships upon **Dingsmere**, over the deep water again to seek **Dublin, Ireland**, ashamed.]

Niles suggests that the place-names in this cluster are specifically Norse, since the contemporaneous English term for Ireland usually appears as a form of *Scotland* (or *Scotta land*) or sometimes even *Hibernia*, as adopted from Anglo-Latin contexts.⁶⁸ As Niles further notes, the place-name *Ireland* is probably formed from the Irish *Eriu* ('Eire') and transmitted through the Norse *Írar* ('the Irish'), since in English the term doesn't appear before *Brunanburh*, 'except in the chronicle entries for the year 918 (A text; 915 C and D texts)' and in the Alfredian *Orosius* where the term is used of 'geographical information given by his Norwegian guest Other (Old Norse Óttarr)'.⁶⁹ The general strangeness of the term to English ears may account for the variant in the A-text *hira land* ('their land') for *Ireland*. Niles also comments on the rarity of the form *Difelin*, which, as he writes, must also display Nordic influence, since if the borrowing were direct from Irish it would have appeared unmutated as a form of *Dublina*.⁷⁰ Taken altogether these terms look like

⁶⁷ William Sayers, 'The Etymology and Semantics of Old Norse *knorr* "cargo ship": The Irish and English Evidence', *Scandinavian Studies*, 68 (1996), 279–90.

⁶⁸ Niles, 'Skaldic Technique', p. 360.

⁶⁹ Niles, 'Skaldic Technique', p. 360. The Alfredian passage in question can be found in the *Orosius*, Book 1, chap. 16, line 6 (*The Old English Orosius*, ed. by Janet M. Bately, EETS, s.s., 6 (London, 1980)).

⁷⁰ Niles, 'Skaldic Technique', p. 360.

a deliberately colloquialized cluster of terms that are mediated through Norse. But one wonders whether a third linguistic layering may not also be detectable in the above passage; in the final half-line (56b) the deep shame of the losers is communicated through the adjective *æwiscmod* ('ashamed'), although the nominal form participates in a seemingly wider semantic field, tending to gloss both *ad infames* and *obscenitas*. It is perhaps therefore not too far a stretch to suggest that the poet uses this clustering of place-names to cast *obscenitates* at the enemy, since *Difelin* sounds distinctly like a twisting of the Old English *deofol* (for 'devil') while *Ireland* contains the Latin element *ira* ('anger', 'rage'). The latter insult may find precedent in the truly terrible pun attributed to Gregory the Great himself (mentioned in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II. 1) when he remarks that the name *Deira* is linked to the Latin *de ira* 'from wrath'. The often remarked upon stateliness of the *Brunanburh* has perhaps kept scholars away from such suggestions. However, Matthew Townend has convincingly argued that a deliberately shameful mood surrounds the losers in *Brunanburh*, an effect which he explains as a formulaic expression in praise poetry associated with skaldic models.⁷¹ In the context of *Brunanburh* in particular, Townend highlights the 'cruel irony' of the situation as 'the poet observes that the defeated foes have no cause to exult, boast, or laugh (*breman, gelpan, hlebban*: *Brunanburh* 39b, 44b, 47b)'.⁷² A case could be made for further hidden insults embedded in lines 20b–28a, which describe the West Saxons giving chase to their enemies in the following terms:

	Wesseaxe forð	20
ondlongne dæg	eorodcistum	
on last legdun	lāpum þeodum,	
heowan hereflemā	hindan þearle	
mecum mylenscearpan.	Myrce ne wyrndon	
heardes hondplegan	hælepa nanum	[MS <i>beeardes</i>] 25
<i>þera þe</i> mid Anlāfe	ofer eargebland	[MS <i>hælepa nanum þe; æra gebland</i>]
on lides bosme	land gesohtun,	
fæge to gefeohte. ⁷³		

The term *eargebland* (which Campbell emends from the A-text reading *æra gebland* to fit the text in the B, C, and D versions of the Chronicle poem) has presented a textual crux for scholars, and it has been interpreted variously and

⁷¹ Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry', p. 354.

⁷² Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry', p. 354.

⁷³ "The West Saxons went forth the entire day in troops, they **pursued in the tracks** of the hated people, hewing the fugitive soldiers **sorely from behind, with mill-sharpened swords**. The Mercians did not deny **hard hand-play** to any of the warriors, of those who, fated to fight, sought land with Anlaf in the bosom of the boat **over the "mingling of waves"**."

uncertainly as the ‘commotion of the sea’⁷⁴ and ‘wave mingling’.⁷⁵ But given the particular detail and force of the enemy’s attack from behind (*hindan þearle*, line 23b), and with *mecum mylenscarpan* (‘mill-sharpened swords’, line 24a), it seems entirely possible that the first element in the compound (*earg-*) is linked to the adjective *earg/earh*, which can mean ‘inert, weak, timid, cowardly’, for which there are cognates in Celtic and Germanic languages meaning ‘bad’ or ‘wicked’, though in Norse (*argr*) containing the extended sense of ‘emasculate’ or ‘effeminate’.⁷⁶ Moreover, the Norse term *argr* appears with special frequency in saga passages containing *senna* (‘flyting’), as part of a highly formalized trope of sexual defamation, and often (though the term may be more neutrally gendered in application) to indicate a man sexually penetrated from behind.⁷⁷ Perhaps also adding insult to injury is the *Brunanburh*-poet’s subsequent description of Constantine’s hair as *blandenfeax* (line 45a), usually taken to mean ‘grey haired’; the poet’s repetition of the element *blanden-* from the previous compound *eargebland* (line 26b) perhaps enriches the insult that this *eald inwidda* had no need to boast of his swordplay. It would seem, therefore, that the poet’s use of multilingualism in the poem is both highbrow and low.

Yet the poet’s use of multilingualism does seem different, overall, than that reflected in other heroic poems, such as *The Battle of Maldon*, which has been described by Fred C. Robinson as ‘the first literary use of dialect in English’.⁷⁸ Whereas it has been argued that the use of Nordicisms in *Maldon* are intended (particularly in the sections of direct speech) to rile the Norsemen,⁷⁹ what emerges

⁷⁴ *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. by Campbell, p. 125. Campbell cites parallels for *eargebland* in the Metrical Psalms, 8.30 and *Elene*, line 239.

⁷⁵ *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. by J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1898; repr. 1976), p. 233.

⁷⁶ Bosworth and Toller (*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 233) provide the following list of cognates for *earg/earh*: Scottish *arch*, *argh*, *ergh* (‘averse’); Frisian *erg* (‘bad, wicked’); Old Frisian *erch*, *erg*, *arg* (‘bad’); Dutch *erg* (‘bad’); German *arg* (‘bad, wicked’); Middle High German *arc* [*mālus*, *prāvus*]; Old High German *arg* [*avārus*, *prāvus*]; Danish *arg*, *arrig* (‘bad, wicked, passionate’); Swedish *arg* (‘angry’); Icelandic *argr* (‘emasculate, effeminate’).

⁷⁷ On the various semantic values of *argr* in Icelandic sagas, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, trans. by Joan Turville-Petre (Odense, 1983), pp. 19–20. On the question of gender in relation to the use of this term, see Carol Clover, ‘Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe’, *Representations*, 44 (1993), 1–28 (p. 17).

⁷⁸ Fredrick C. Robinson, ‘Some Aspects of the Maldon Poet’s Artistry’, in *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English*, ed. by Fredrick C. Robinson (Oxford, 1993), pp. 122–37 (p. 123).

⁷⁹ Robinson, ‘Some Aspects’, pp. 123–24.

in the case of *Brunanburh* is more of an insider's joke, whereby the puns play the literary role of simultaneously denigrating the losers (who cannot talk back at this remove) and also perhaps showing off the poet's own multiculturalism through his use of multilingual puns. We can also possibly detect a sideways wink whereby the poet uses these puns to boast of the cosmopolitan reach of his own culture. This use of wordplay in *Brunanburh* seems to be closer to the hermeneutic stylings associated with the Latin poetry engendered at Æthelstan's court, which Lapidge has shown to be 'a style whose most striking feature is the ostentatious parade of unusual, often very arcane and apparently learned vocabulary', and which appears to be a distinctly 'homegrown' English phenomenon.⁸⁰ The subtle rhetorical difference can perhaps best be seen in the final lines of the poem (65–73), where the poet inserts the events of the Battle of Brunanburh into a literary history garnered from books:

Ne wearð wæl mare	65
on þis eiglande <i>æfre</i> gieta	[MS <i>æfer</i>]
folces gefylled beforan þisum	
sweordes ecgum, þæs þe us secgað bec,	
ealde uðwitan, sibban eastan hider	
Engle and Seaxe up becoman,	70
ofer brad brimu Brytene sohtan,	
wlance wigsmiþas, <i>Wealas</i> ofercoman,	[MS <i>weealles</i>]
eorlas arhwate eard begeatan. ⁸¹	

The point has often been made that the poet is associating the victory of the West Saxons over the Irish and Norse with the coming in an earlier age of the Saxons, Angles, and Germanic peoples to Britain, although of course in the poet's present, the action is poignantly reversed from settling to expelling.⁸² The poet integrates the cyclical nature of this history through a series of verbal antitheses forged between these final lines and the rest of the poem. So, for example, the *folces gefylled* ('of a nation felled', line 67a) recalls the descriptor of Constantine *freonda befylled* ('deprived of friends', line 41a), just as the *ealde uðwitan* ('old learned scholars', line 69a) takes the place of the Scottish *eald inwidda* ('old enemy', line 46a). And just

⁸⁰ Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 105, where he shows this style to comprise mainly archaisms, neologisms or coinages, and loanwords.

⁸¹ 'Never before this was there a greater slaughter of a folk felled on this island with the edges of a sword — about which books tell us, and old learned scholars — since afterwards, the **Angles** and **Saxons** came hither from the east, they sought **Britain** over the broad sea, those proud war-smiths and glory-brave men, they overcame the **Welsh**, and seized the land.'

⁸² See, for example, Thormann, 'The Battle of Brunanburh', pp. 10–11, and Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, pp. 30–31.

as the movements of the Germanic peoples in the fifth-century migration period is from east to west as they *up becoman* (line 70b) to Britain, so the poem comes full circle, mimicking the movement of the sun as it glides *up* from east to west at the beginning of the poem (lines 12b–17a). The nationalities named here also contain poignant echoes: the *Brytene* ('Britain') of line 71b recalls the preying birds who work to *hræ brytian* ('dispense' or 'enjoy the slaughter') of the enemy in line 65b,⁸³ just as perhaps the *wealas* ('Welsh') of line 72b recall the great *wel* ('slaughter') of line 65b, the *walstowe* ('slaughter place') of line 43a, and the *wælfelda* ('slaughter field') of line 51b.

The poet's mention of the *bec* which tell this history of conquest may not be as impressionistic or 'traditional' as has sometimes been thought. If we compare the peoples mentioned in these final lines with the opening quotation derived from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, it is possible to see a pointed literary debt to this text. The *Brunanburh* poet echoes Bede's English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins here with his reference to Angles and Saxons (now standing together for the English), and the Welsh standing in synonymously for Bede's Britons. It may even be significant that the scribe of the A-text of the Chronicle wrote at this point *weealles* (perhaps to be read as two free morphemes — 'we entirely'; line 72b) for *wealas* ('Welsh'), a nonsensical error which nevertheless reads the sweeping victory of Æthelstan, the supposed *Bretwalda*, back into that earlier history.⁸⁴ But it is the poet's poignant substitution of Norse for Pictish (and, incidentally, his writing in of Norse elements throughout) that measures recognition of this newer threat. Although it has often been the attitude of scholars that *Brunanburh* is a largely formulaic poem, which makes liberal use of archaisms, stock phrases, and topoi,⁸⁵ I would argue that reading *Brunanburh* within this larger context of Æthelstan's court has much to teach us about the multiculturalism and multilingualism inherent in this poem as in this reign.

⁸³ See further James C. Addison, Jr, 'Aural Interlace in "The Battle of Brunanburh"', *Language and Style*, 15 (1982), 261–76.

⁸⁴ Patrick Wormald (in 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins', pp. 106–07), for one, has argued the precariousness of the term *Bretwalda* in Anglo-Saxon texts, a term which may have emerged from a scribal error for *Brytenwalda* (perhaps meaning 'wide-ruler'), as attested in the A-manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 827 (*recte* 829). As Wormald demonstrates, the term *Bretwalda* inconsistently refers to pan-British rule in some contexts and Southumbrian governance in others.

⁸⁵ See, for example, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 38–41, who considers *Brunanburh* to be composed in an 'artificial style', characterized by its use of 'old metrical standards', sentence structures which are 'essentially that of older verse', and archaic diction, which is 'almost entirely composed of elements to be found in earlier poems'.

ABBO OF FLEURY IN RAMSEY (985–987)

Roger Wright

Abbo of Fleury's stay in Ramsey (985–87) sheds an interesting light on the possible multilingual interactions of the time, and some of the details in his *Quaestiones grammaticales* can help explain subsequent relations between Old English, Medieval Latin, Old Gallo-Romance, and even their use of Greek.

By the time of his death in 1004, Abbo of Fleury was one of the most influential scholars of the age. According to his biographer Aimoin, Abbo learnt Latin (*litterariae artis*) as a child (*adhuc puerulus*) at the Benedictine monastery of Fleury on the Loire,¹ which had been revitalized by Odo of Cluny in the 930s and was the home of the bones of St Benedict himself. Abbo then studied with Gerbert of Aurillac at Reims, and returned to Fleury. Here he became *armarius*, which involved running the scriptorium and the library as well as teaching;² his biographer particularly stresses his skill at instructing his colleagues in reading and singing.³

In 985 Oswald of York, who had studied at Fleury in the 950s, asked Fleury if they could send a teacher to the monastery of Ramsey, the only Benedictine abbey in England at the time, which Oswald had himself founded in the 960s in an isolated part of the Fenland between Cambridge, Huntingdon, Peterborough, and Ely. Abbo was the one who went. The later *Vita* of Oswald, attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey, who had been taught there by Abbo, implies that Abbo's main

¹ Aimoin, *De uita et martyrio sancti Abbonis abbatis Floriaci coenobii*, in PL, 139, cols 387–414 (col. 389D). Abbo's *Quaestiones grammaticales* are in 139, cols 521–34.

² Scott J. Gwara, 'Three Acrostic Poems by Abbo of Fleury', *JML*, 2 (1992), 203–35 (p. 204). For Fleury in general, see Patrice Cousin, *Abbon de Fleury-sur-Loire* (Paris, 1954).

³ PL, 139, col. 390B: 'quos ille [...] lectione simul et cantilena cum tanta erudiuit cura'.

task at Ramsey was to teach Latin.⁴ But in the event he taught much more than that. Byrhtferth elsewhere says that Abbo was specially skilled at teaching astronomical and mathematical matters such as the *computus*.⁵

Abbo returned to Fleury in 987, shortly before becoming abbot in 988. His historical and cultural importance depends mostly on what he achieved later than his English visit; modern scholars tend to refer to him as being one of the greatest intellectuals of the time, but that was much truer in 1004 than it was when he crossed the Channel in 985. By the eleventh century Fleury was becoming an important centre for manuscripts of the earliest literature in Gallo-Romance, as well as a flourishing centre of Latin letters of many kinds, but that multilingual aspect of Abbo's own monastery was not yet evident in the 980s.

Since 1982 there have been several studies made of Fleury, of Ramsey, of Abbo, and of some of Abbo's works; but there seem to have been none of a linguistic nature, and no serious consideration of the letter which Abbo wrote to his Ramsey pupils on the topic of their linguistic education. This letter was originally just called *Epistula Abbonis*, and in the British Museum manuscript it follows his other letters as if it were one of them. But the title given to this letter by Migne,⁶ and subsequently, is that of *Quaestiones grammaticales*. That is a slightly misleading title, for the topic is not best described as Grammar. Abbo is writing to answer questions about Latin posed to him by his English students, and the answers only have a point in that precise context. As we shall see, the majority of these enquiries concern pronunciation, which seems in itself to be a significant pointer to the multilingual nature of Ramsey's intellectual life.

The *Quaestiones grammaticales* survive in two manuscripts, both written at Fleury during Abbo's abbacy, now in London and in the Vatican. They have been attractively edited and discussed by Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, in a volume published just too late for me to take into account in the pages I dedicated to the work in that

⁴ *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols (London, 1879–94), I, 431: 'philosophus Abbo ueniens ex Floriaco glorioso arcisterio, ad patrem nostrum, et inhabitando in eodem loco, atque doctrinam grammaticae artis affluenter suos erudiens discipulos' (the scholar Abbo came from the famous monastery of Fleury to our master, lived there, and brilliantly taught his students Latin grammar). All English translations are my own.

⁵ *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS, s.s., 15 (Oxford, 1995), Appendix 4.

⁶ PL, 139, col. 522.

same year.⁷ In the present paper the *Quaestiones* will be revisited to see why they concentrate on the details which they do, and for the light they can shed on the knowledge and use of Latin and other languages by contemporary English-speakers.

Commentators vary as to whether they think Abbo's *Quaestiones grammaticales* were written at Ramsey or after his return to Fleury. Many scholars have thought he wrote it at Ramsey, without wondering why he bothered to write a letter to people living in the same building as himself; these include Winterbottom, Van der Vyver, Baker and Lapidge, Gwara, and Guerreau-Jalabert herself,⁸ whose French translation sometimes reflects more precision about this location than the actual text does.⁹ Others are less sure, including Mostert, Dachowski, and myself.¹⁰ In my view it is possible that Abbo might have begun considering it at Ramsey, but whether or not he started it in England he must have prepared the majority of the text after his return to Fleury, where he was able to look specific details up in the holdings of that monastery's excellent library, which was especially impressive for its grammars.¹¹ These include several manuscripts of Priscian. Much of what Abbo says in this letter is based on the authority of Priscian, sometimes explicitly, and most of the classical verse quotations adduced are in fact taken from Priscian rather than directly from the poet. Isidore of Seville is also regularly consulted. The general impression is that Abbo returned to Fleury with a list of questions for which his students needed authoritative answers; at Ramsey he had had a stab at starting some of the answers already, perhaps, but in many cases he felt that he needed to check the authorities before trying to prepare a more definitive reply.

Modern studies of Fleury suggest that when Abbo left his home there in 985 he was in some kind of political difficulty. This is likely, for otherwise it is hard to see why he would have left his exciting home base to travel to teach in a new monastery

⁷ Abbon de Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by Anita Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris, 1982); Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance (in Spain and Carolingian France)* (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 136–39.

⁸ Michael Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), p. 4; A. Van der Vyver, 'Les Oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), 125–69; *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. xxi; Gwara, 'Three Acrostic Poems', p. 205.

⁹ Translating, for example, 'id exilii', as 'ce lieu d'exil', in section 3.

¹⁰ Marco Mostert, 'Le Séjour d'Abbon de Fleury à Ramsey', *Bulletin de l'École des Chartes*, 144 (1986), 199–208; Elizabeth Dachowski, 'Edmund of East Anglia: Life of Abbo of Fleury', at <<http://web.archive.org/web/20061231115906/http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/rawl/edmund/abbo.html>>.

¹¹ Abbon de Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by Guerreau-Jalabert, chap. 5; Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989).

recently built in a remote foreign marsh. Knowles suggested that Abbo could well have been in England before, attending the Synod of Winchester in 970,¹² but no other historian seems to have followed this possibility up, and it appears to be a bit unlikely. Abbo refers in this letter to his time at Ramsey as being a time of exile and to himself as being an exile (sections 3–4), which we may be able to take literally. Twice he refers in the text to the horror he had of travelling to England by sea and the bad weather he had experienced on that journey in 985 (sections 3 and 42), although we are indebted to his biographer Aimoin, rather than to Abbo himself, for the information that he came over the Channel in a group of nine boats of which only three survived and six sank with all hands in a storm.¹³ Then in 987, when political circumstances changed in Fleury and Abbo was suddenly recalled into favour there,¹⁴ he seems to have shot back home as soon as he could. Antonia Gransden refers to Abbo's visit as a 'two years' "sabbatical",¹⁵ which is a little misleading, despite the affection that he and his pupils came to have for each other.

It hardly seems likely that Abbo took much of the Fleury library with him to Ramsey, since the books belonged to Fleury rather than to himself and he was in disfavour at the time. Hart and Baker and Lapidge believe he took a number of basic texts with him, but as Gransden points out, Ramsey had a collection of such books by 985 anyway.¹⁶ The questions asked by his students, and answered in this letter, are esoteric, detailed, and intelligent. These are presumably the questions which Abbo had not been able to answer off his own bat with the resources available in the Fens and had needed to carry out further research on in his home library. He did not always answer them too satisfactorily in this letter, either. None of these questions were definitively answerable on the basis of the *Ars Minor* of Donatus or the general Insular grammatical tradition.

The first four sections of the fifty (as numbered by Anita Guerreau-Jalabert) are introductory. The very first sentence is 'Incipit epistola Abbonis in quibusdam questionibus perutilis'.¹⁷ This is where the word *Quaestiones* was taken from for the

¹² David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 46.

¹³ PL, 139, col. 392A.

¹⁴ Mostert, 'Le Séjour'.

¹⁵ Antonia Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*', *Revue Bénédictine*, 105 (1995), 20–78 (p. 56).

¹⁶ Cyril Hart, 'The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 104 (1994), 295–327 (p. 319); *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, Introduction; Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*', p. 22.

¹⁷ 'Here begins Abbo's letter, very useful for some questions.'

text's modern title; the word *grammaticales* is nowhere to be found in the text at all and would have been better never included in that title. The letter is explicitly addressed to 'Dilectissimis in Christo Angligenis fratribus',¹⁸ particularly those following the Rule of St Benedict.

We jump into the nitty gritty in section 5, with a topic which extends to section 13. The question addressed concerns the position of the stress on those words whose penultimate vowel preceded a consonant cluster of which the second component was either [r] or [l]. This had been a perennial problem for grammarians and allied pedants for centuries. In a sense the English students were right to be baffled about whether to say proparoxytonically *ténebrae* and *sálubris* or the paroxytone alternative *tenébrae* and *salúbris*. It seems obvious now that in spoken Latin this was a simple case of linguistic variation. Sometimes people said one, sometimes the other. It is the sort of variation which can be found in any language, often continuing for centuries, during what looks in retrospect like a simple diachronic change; that is, in these cases the original Latin stress was proparoxytonic and the Romance was and is paroxytonic, but for centuries both pronunciations coexisted in the language.¹⁹ Grammarians at the time, of course, as grammarians still tend to do, disliked both the idea and the practice of variation altogether. It took the arrival of sociolinguistics in the 1960s to demonstrate that linguistic variation is a natural and unsurprising fact of linguistic life; otherwise, rather than just saying that sometimes people say this and some other times people say that, grammarians have usually felt an urge to decree that one of the variants is right and that the other is wrong, thereby introducing the moral dimension into grammar that has been so debilitating to serious linguistic study.

Abbo, even with his library resources to help him, ties himself into knots here. Stress patterns in original Latin had depended, at least in the view of the grammarians, on the prior identification of long and short syllables, and that is what Abbo gets bogged down in. French Romance-speakers such as Abbo usually had an instinctive knowledge of stress patterns in Latin, which had rarely changed over the centuries' journey into Romance, but they had no such instinct for the phonemic length of the vowels of ten centuries earlier, as pronounced in the years before length had stopped being phonemic in speech. But long and short syllables in long-standing lexical items can at least be identified on the basis of their use in ancient

¹⁸ 'To my most beloved English brothers in Christ.'

¹⁹ What modern Romanists say on the topic can be found in Michele Loporcaro, 'La sillabazione di *muta cum liquida* dal latino al romanzo', in *Latin et langues romanes: études de linguistique offertes à József Herman*, ed. by Sándor Kiss and others (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 419–30.

metric verse, so Priscian and others had done that and Abbo tried to follow suit. That is, a knowledge of metrics helps us decide whether Virgil thought a vowel in a particular word was long or short, and thus by implication we can deduce whether for Virgil that vowel was stressed (which a penultimate syllable such as those here in dispute usually would have been if the vowel was long) or not.

Abbo's students had asked him what ought to happen,²⁰ rather than relying on what he actually said himself, and he replies that, presumably when he was still in Ramsey, 'I suggested what I felt sure I had read somewhere in the ancient authorities on the Latin language, and even put it in writing so you wouldn't forget it'.²¹ But unfortunately the authorities he has now consulted back in Fleury do not all agree with each other. Some of them turn out to prefer some ideas that Abbo does not.²² There is a desperation felt here to find a rule. In this case, Abbo is referring to the peculiar theory that the middle syllable of *tenebrae* must contain a long vowel ([e:]) because it is related to the imperative of *teneo*, *tene* — which it undoubtedly is not — and we do not know now who these strangely misguided *quidam* actually are, although, as Guerreau-Jalabert points out,²³ the *Ars lectoria* of Aimericus, written a century later in Aquitaine, refers to the same idea.²⁴ Isidore of Seville may have inspired Abbo's train of thought here; Isidore had not made exactly this connection with the imperative, but he had indeed related *tenebrae* and *teneo* in saying: "tenebras" autem dictas quod teneant umbras',²⁵ using the Romance feminine plural subject inflection in *-as*. Abbo does not quote Isidore directly, but something in that tradition is what is worrying him here.

²⁰ Section 5: 'in questione prima quesitum est salubris penultima correpta an producta dici debeat uel conveniat' (In the first question I was asked whether the word *salubris* should be pronounced with the penultimate syllable short or long).

²¹ '[...] proposui que in antiquis latine lingue auctoribus me legisse pro certo habui et, ne uestra memoria laberentur, etiam litteris digessi'.

²² 'Quidam uolunt' (section 7).

²³ Abbon de Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by Guerreau-Jalabert, p. 212, n. 18.

²⁴ Harry F. Reijnders, 'Aimericus: *Ars lectoria*', *Vivarium*, 9 (1971), 119–37, and 10 (1972), 41–101 and 124–76 (10, p. 87); there is no such reference in the other *Ars lectoria*, that of Aimericus's contemporary Siguinus, who sees all these vowels as short and their stresses as proparoxytone, adducing a list of fourteen examples including *lâtebre* and *tênebre*; see C. H. Kneepkens, *Magister Siguinus, Ars lectoria: un art de lecture à haute voix du onzième siècle* (Leiden, 1979), p. 120.

²⁵ *Etymologiae* 5.31.6; José Oroz Reta, *San Isidoro de Sevilla: Etimologías* (Madrid, 1982), p. 542.

In the event, Isidore was no help to Abbo at all in this matter. Isidore had regarded what we know now was the original proparoxytonic stress of *ténebrae* and *látebrae* as a barbarism,²⁶ probably because he himself naturally used the ordinary seventh-century Romance stress pattern in *tenébrae*, which survives in Spanish *tinieblas*.²⁷ Abbo had thus had his own native-speaker instinct for Romance penultimate stress on this word to add to the confusion in these multilingual tutorials.

Poor Abbo wants to be both all-inclusive and the provider of rules; but here there are no all-embracing rules to be found, and he gets subtler than he needs to, or than his data allow, and proposes several rules that have obvious exceptions. He extends his field of operations to all words ending in the feminine agentive suffix *-trix*, none of which in fact can be proparoxytone but for a different reason which he does not mention, and then to syncopated words such as *uenablum* (for *uena-bulum*), where his comments are sensible. But since he is always trying to find an authority for any rule he decides to propose, he ends up in a state of confusion which cannot have helped his correspondents greatly, particularly since he eventually advises us to stick to Donatus and Priscian, when he seems himself to have misunderstood Donatus;²⁸ and even his own vernacular habits have been no guide here, which may well be why he could not answer the question in Ramsey and had needed to consult the authoritative library back home.

The following sections (14–19) also concern the length of vowels and the related word-stress in specified words, with a similar apparent implication that the students were interested in talking Latin as well as just reading and singing it aloud. One feature of the argumentation which becomes increasingly clear in these sections is that Abbo assumes that his readers are experts at Latin metrics. He often says that you can tell whether a vowel in a word is long or short from the following quotation adduced from Virgil, or one of the other ancient poets; and indeed you can, but only if you are good at traditional metrics, because Abbo does not normally say explicitly in such cases whether the vowel is in fact short or long. And he can use technical terms such as ‘amphibrach’ without explanation, expecting us to know that it means a short-long-short sequence; thus, as regards the vowels in the word *seuerus*, his comment (section 14) that ‘Est enim “seuerus” amphibrachis, teste Prudentio in Psychomachia: “fronte seuerus adhuc et multo funere anhelus”’

²⁶ *Etymologiae* 1.32.1.

²⁷ This is one of the surprisingly few words in which the stress had changed syllable between the second and seventh centuries: see József Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, trans. by Roger Wright (University Park, PA, 2000), pp. 37–38.

²⁸ As pointed out by Guerreau-Jalabert (*Quaestiones grammaticales*, p. 220, n. 37).

is only intelligible if we can already both scan hexameters and identify amphibrachs.²⁹

There are many such examples in this part of the letter, some of them *recherché* to the point of obscurity: thus in section 18, when he tells us that ‘est enim “diffidit urbium” choriambus cum pyrrichio; deinde sequitur uersus asclepiadeus. Idem Horatius glyconico uersu: “nequiquam deus abscidit”’,³⁰ Abbo expects the readers’ existing knowledge of the technical terms *choriambus* (a trochee plus an iambus) and *glyconicus* (a spondee plus two dactyls) to help us work out that the middle syllable of *diffidit* and of *abscidit* is short, rather than vice versa (that is, rather than using knowledge of the length of that vowel in order to understand the technical metric terms). And these comments include technical terms so esoteric as not even to be mentioned by Bede. So it seems that he assumes that his pupils at Ramsey have already become more expert in metrics, probably because he has taught them the subject himself, than in identifying long and short vowels, and thence stressed syllables, from their own resources in doubtful cases. Gabriele Knappe made a similar point concerning the readers’ knowledge of technicalities of figures and tropes,³¹ since (in section 40) Abbo expects his students to know what *zeugma* and *hypallage* are without further explanation, probably because he had already taught them what they were.

At times, indeed, we can deduce that Abbo is writing up notes which he had given them in oral but provisional form at Ramsey earlier: for example, ‘[...] et alia plurima que idcirco proposui ut non solum scripto sed etiam sono distinguatis, “fisum” et “fissum”, “cesum” et “cessum” [...]’.³² This use of the word *sono* suggests that pronunciation was an important aspect of his Latin classes at Ramsey, as well as of the questions he is now trying to answer; the multilingualism was oral as well as written. Over half the text of this letter concerns phonetics; and we can deduce that the purpose of the focus on this aspect of their task is partly to aid his students in the proper reading and singing of ecclesiastical texts, particularly in verse, as had

²⁹ ‘The word *seuerus* is an amphibrach, as you can see from Prudentius in the *Psychomachia*.’ The reference is to *Psychomachia* 165; the scansion of the first half of this hexameter is *frōntē sēuērūs ādhiūc*, and Abbo expects us to find that scansion self-evident.

³⁰ ‘Since *diffidit urbium* is a choriambus plus a pyrrichius; so it is an asclepiad. Similarly, Horace in his glyconic line: *nequiquam deus abscidit*.’

³¹ Gabriele Knappe, ‘Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE*, 27 (1998), 5–30 (p. 17).

³² Section 19; ‘and several other ideas which I suggested, so you should distinguish, in sound as well as in writing, *fisum* and *fissum*, *cesum* and *cessum*’.

been one prime aim of Alcuin's determined instructions two long centuries before, but also to aid them in how to talk in Latin; and perhaps we can also deduce that Abbo and his students at Ramsey did indeed talk to each other in Latin.

Some of the instructions concerning pronunciation are, however, odd at best, lacking the clarity of Alcuin's precepts and probably also influenced by Abbo's own native Gallo-Romance phonology. A multilingual context can create its own problems. The [s], for example, unless it is next to another consonant, is surprisingly said to be hardly pronounced at all, as was the case in Priscian's use of Greek;³³ this weakening could have been true in syllable-final position in Gallo-Romance (Old French), but certainly not in Alcuinian Latin. Guerreau-Jalabert tells us that Abbo is indeed following Priscian here;³⁴ but in fact Abbo appears to have misunderstood Priscian in this case, apparently believing that Priscian had stated that the Greeks pronounced Latin words beginning with [s-] with an aspirated [h-], whereas Priscian's comment in fact referred to the way in which Latin words borrowed from Greek sometimes contained a word-initial [s-] where the Greek had begun the word with [h-], written in Greek as a rough breathing.³⁵ It is hard to believe that Abbo consistently followed his own advice here in practice, and maybe the Ramsey students had raised this question precisely because what he told them to do and what he did himself were not the same.

When Abbo reaches the pronunciations represented by the letters *c*, *t*, and *g* we get tied in a few more knots. He does realize that the /k/ and /g/ phonemes have velar realizations before back vowels (*in faucibus* ('in the throat'), section 23). He then refers to their recommended assibilation before front vowels, said to be like that of the [ts] or [dz] sound (allophones of /tj/) in words such as *iustitia* (*sono z*). Norberg pointed out that Abbo's prescription of the sounds [tse] and [tsi] for words written with the letters *ce* and *ci* was probably inspired by his native Old

³³ 'tam leui sono [...] apud Grecos auctore Prisciano'.

³⁴ Abbon de Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by Guerreau-Jalabert, p. 232.

³⁵ *Institutiones grammaticae*, I, 42, in *Grammatici Latini*, ed. by Heinrich Keil, 7 vols (Leipzig, 1855–80; repr., Hildesheim, 1961), II, 32, line 19–33, line 1: "s" [...] saepe pro aspiratione ponitur in his dictionibus quos a Graecis sumpsimus, ut "semis", "sex", "septem", "se", "sal": nam [...] apud illos aspirationem habent in principio. Adeo autem cognatio est huic literae cum aspiratione [...]' (s is often inserted instead of the breathing in the words which we have taken from the Greeks, such as *semis*, *sex*, *septem*, *se*, and *sal*; for they have a breathing at the start in Greek. There is indeed a close relationship between this letter and the breathing). Abbo, however, says, 'tam leui sono ubique sola exprimitur ut apud Graecos, auctore Prisciano, pro ea aspiratio nonnumquam scribatur' (it is pronounced with such a slight sound in all cases that the Greeks, according to Priscian, often write a breathing instead).

French Romance.³⁶ Alcuin had also implied, two centuries earlier (in his *De orthographia*), that the two letter sequences *-tio* and *-cio* represented the same sounds: “Benedictio” et “oratio” et talia “t” debent habere in paenultima syllaba, non “c”;³⁷ this comment is probably best interpreted as advice to avoid their assibilation, common in France.

Indeed, the habit that some people had of proffering a velar consonant ([k]) before a high front vowel in a word like *suscipio* or *ciuis* (as Alcuin had almost certainly done two centuries earlier, to judge by his own alliterative verse) is said by Abbo to be obviously frivolous (*friuolum*; section 23). Here Abbo spelt the velar consonant with the letters *qu*, a digraph which to Abbo represented a plosive, probably a velar [k] rather than a labiovelar [kw]. The fact that the letters *qu* are expected to be understood as corresponding to the sound [k] (rather than [kw]) in these multilingual contexts helps explain why the Anglo-Saxons chose not to adopt the letters *qu* for the labiovelar sound [kw], but chose instead to use *cw* (or *c* and the wynn) in such words as *cwic* ([kwik], ‘quick’), when otherwise in general they chose the Latin letter-sound correspondences wherever they were available. Guerreau-Jalabert decided, on the basis of no evidence, that the frivolous speakers that Abbo had in mind here were the Irish; but, unlike Guerreau-Jalabert (*passim*), Abbo never even mentions the Irish explicitly, and this [k] in *ciuis* is more likely to have been a pronunciation lingering on in England from the Anglo-Saxon Latin-reading pronunciation habits of two to three centuries earlier.

Abbo’s argument here is not illuminated much for us now by the Greek words containing a chi which he also adduces (sections 25–27), presented in the Greek alphabet, because these were miscopied in both surviving manuscripts (and further misprinted in the *Patrologia Latina*);³⁸ but even if the examples were originally written correctly, Abbo’s argument here was probably hard to follow from the start.

In this section Abbo also mentions some English letters and sounds, with the apparent implication that it is easier for his English-speaking pupils to pronounce Greek than it is for him, at least with reference to the sound represented by the thorn and the theta, and the one represented by the wynn and the digamma. Abbo

³⁶ Dag L. Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval* (Paris, 1968), p. 51; cf. also Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2003), chap. 8.

³⁷ Alcuino, *De orthographia*, ed. by Sandra Bruni (Florence, 1997), p. 7 (section 49); ‘*benedictio* and *oratio* and such words ought to have a *t* ([t]) in the penultimate syllable rather than a *c* ([ts])’.

³⁸ As explained by Henry Bradley, ‘On the Text of Abbo of Fleury’s *Quaestiones grammaticales*’, *PBA*, 10 (1921–23), 173–80, although Bradley unfortunately did not know about the British Museum manuscript.

could find information about Greek in Priscian. It seems that this question of Greek sounds had arisen at Ramsey, which adds a further intriguing possibility to our analysis of the languages used in his multilingual classes; that the Greek was pronounced with an English accent rather than a Latin or Old French one.

Almost the final topic adduced of a directly phonetic nature (in section 28) concerns word-boundaries, spoken and sung as well as written. Abbo is here warning his English-speaking students not to go in for syllabification across word-boundaries in the way Romance speakers did and often still do; for example, the students' performance of *pars est* should sound like *pars est* rather than *par sest*. Saenger finds this section highly significant,³⁹ and promotes Abbo to the role of star in his story of the development of written word-spacing; this seems exaggerated, however, for Bede had had similar concerns, and Isidore before that. Bede's aim in discussing word boundaries had probably been to avoid absurdities in the chant, and the chant is also likely to be the main context for the topic in this letter, since in connected speech (as opposed to in chant) there is anyway rarely a pause between words in the same clause.

The questions asked are therefore precise, detailed, and particular, and they had not been addressed by the available basic texts on pronunciation such as those of Martianus Capella⁴⁰ and Alcuin.⁴¹ Problems not covered in the main reference works available in Ramsey are answered by Abbo, attempting, but often failing, to provide significant generalizations by systematizing scattered observations, found in Priscian and elsewhere, into a rule, where the simple facts would have been easier to follow, less tendentious, and less falsifiable. Abbo did not find Priscian easy to understand, not least because it is unlikely that Abbo knew much Greek. But Abbo does seem to have realized that ancient grammarians (other than Priscian) had written for native Latin-speakers, and that their comments needed to be remodelled to be useful in the different context of these islands, as the late Vivien Law showed was the case for insular Latin grammarians of earlier generations, although not for Abbo himself.⁴²

³⁹ Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), chap. 8; also Paul Saenger, 'Separated Script at Reims and Fleury at the Time of Gerbert and Abbo', in *Le Livre et l'historien: études offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, ed. by Frédéric Barbier and others (Geneva, 1997), pp. 3–23.

⁴⁰ Adolf Dick, *Martianus Capella* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 95–96; Wright, *Late Latin*, pp. 100–01.

⁴¹ Alcuino, *De orthographia*, ed. by Bruni; Wright, *A Sociophilological Study*, chap. 9.

⁴² Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1997).

In sections 30–31 Abbo moves on to reduplicated perfects, particularly of prefixed verbs where the reduplication can either be present or not, and in section 32 to fourteen verbs which seem to belong to both the second and the third conjugations, where again his correspondents want a definite ruling and would rather not accept variation as a real answer. Illustrative examples are taken from poetry, as usual, since vowel length also tends to be the criterion for deciding which conjugation a verb belongs to, but the students want to know in addition what to do in prose (whose reference may well be intended to include speech).

When Abbo comes next (in section 33) to discussing the length of the penultimate vowel in the first and second person plural forms of future perfects and perfect subjunctives, all he can do is mention a proposed rule and then say that it seems not to be right; he refers in passing to a comment by Servius that even Virgil's use of a short [i] in these inflections is used *metri gratia*,⁴³ or as he says as a *sytole*, because it was actually long (whereas we can deduce now that in real life the vowel was merely of variable length).

Greek words reappear as the topic of sections 34–37, with reference to the length of the vowels in nominal inflections; the words are written here in the Roman alphabet, but the point is phonetic as well as morphological.⁴⁴ Then in section 38 the topic of dative and ablative plurals ending in *-ibus* is raised, with an ostensibly startling answer. Abbo tells us that these inflected forms in *-ibus* are in origin the genitive singular in *-is* with a *bu* inserted. This is an idea he takes from Priscian.⁴⁵ In this case Abbo understood Priscian right (and Keil, in comparison, has apparently understood Priscian wrong, to judge by his peculiar editorial choice of punctuation, whereby he seems to regard the genitive singular and the dative plural as being jointly the same example). But Priscian was an early sixth-century Latin-speaker working at a time when the dative and ablative were probably in the

⁴³ In the word *egerimus* in *Aeneid* 6. 514, although Abbo does not quote the line here; Abbon de Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by Guerreau-Jalabert, pp. 250–51, n. 145.

⁴⁴ We need not deduce from this that the classes at Ramsey were so multilingual as to involve actually talking Greek, but they certainly seem to have quoted, or at least mentioned, individual Greek words.

⁴⁵ *Institutiones grammaticae*, VII. 82 (ed. by Keil, II, 356, lines 21–22): ‘Datiuus et ablatiuus pluralis tertiae declinationis nascitur a singulari genetiui interiecta “bu”, ut “huius hominis”, “his” et “ab his hominibus”, “huius exulis”, “his” et “ab his exulibus”’ (and four other examples) (the dative and ablative plural endings in the third declension come from the insertion of ‘bu’ into the genitive singular, such as happens with genitive singular *hominis* and dative and ablative plural *hominibus*, *exulis*, and *exulibus* [...]).

process of dropping from speech, and who may well have spoken, and even also read aloud, these inflections written with *-ibus* as [-is] or [-es], with, as it were, a 'silent *-bu*',⁴⁶ whereas Abbo was an Old French speaker whose vernacular did not include dative and ablative forms of nouns, and so when reading aloud a text he would have read the letters *ibus* as [ibus] in the reformed Alcuinian manner. As a consequence Abbo may well not have seen the reasons that underlay the point that Priscian was making, but he reproduces Priscian's analysis of the genesis of these inflections even so, because Priscian was the greatest of the authorities, to the likely bafflement of his students at Ramsey.

The main body of the letter thus concerns pronunciation, usually directly, sometimes just by implication. What these comments imply for the bilingual or multilingual nature of the language classes at Ramsey is intriguing. His readers want to know how to read aloud and sing properly, but also, it seems, how to talk Latin acceptably, at least when in the company of foreign visitors. Patrizia Lendinara, in her valuable online encyclopaedia article on Abbo, summarizes the work simply as 'Abbo answers questions on orthography, morphology and syntax that had been raised by his pupils at Ramsey' and nothing else;⁴⁷ but this is misleading, for the focus is much more on pronunciation than on any of these.

It is only the last eleven of the sections, 40–50, that have no phonetic component. In section 40 Abbo explains a zeugma in the Book of Maccabees, exemplifying his point with one example from the Bible, one from Virgil, and one of his own invention ('lectionem quam audistis uobis prodest'),⁴⁸ which might give us a hint of his teaching style. Note the word *audistis*; the students heard the lesson rather than reading it, even if it was called a *lectionem*. In section 41 Abbo explains the difference between internal and external comparatives, respectively governing genitives and ablatives, in order to distinguish 'quis eorum sit doctior' from 'quis eis doctior sit'.⁴⁹

Section 42 concerns the contemporary variants *suscepturus* and *suscepisti* in the text of the *Tē Deum*, leading to a discussion of future participles nicely exemplified by Abbo's invented sentence 'Uisitaturus fratres Anglicos, maxime Os<waldum>

⁴⁶ See Wright, *Late Latin*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Patrizia Lendinara, 'Abbo of Fleury', <<http://web.archive.org/web/20060908031114/http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/saslc/volone/guide.htm>>, p. 4.

⁴⁸ 'the lesson which you heard is useful for you here'.

⁴⁹ 'who is the wiser of these three men' and 'who is wiser than these three men'.

Archiepiscopum, non horruī maris periculum'.⁵⁰ O'Neill's comment on this section, that 'among the grammatical issues which Abbo discusses is the Latin future perfect, which he illustrates with the reading *suscepturus* in the *Te Deum*',⁵¹ is wrong, for two reasons: *suscepturus* is a future participle, not a future perfect, and the text of the *Te Deum* is the focus of interest of the discussion rather than being an illustrative example adduced for a grammatical purpose. These latter two questions are addressed in the letter rather than in class probably because genitives, datives, and future participles played no part in Abbo's own Gallo-Romance vernacular, so he had little instinctive feel for the answer and had had to wait till he got back to his library before making these comments.

Section 43 concerns the use of the Olympiad to measure four-year units of time; and then sections 44 to 49 address the difference between what we would call complementary and gradable antonyms as exemplified in the use of the words *genitum* and *ingenitum* in the Athanasian Creed. The linguistic discussion concerns the semantic difference between the negative prefix *in-* and the free word *non* (and seems in fact to be wrong). At one point Abbo refers back to his own commentary on the *Computus* of Victorius, as if the readers knew all about that already; this comment has been considered by Evans and Peden and by Huglo.⁵² And then he abruptly stops, in order to avoid boring the readers: 'ne prolixitas caritatiue epistole fastidium ingereret lectoris ignaue [...] euisceratis obiectarum questionum intimis, quas uestra fraternitas perlegendō discutiāt, discutiendō perlegat [...] Ualete' (section 50).⁵³

No manuscript copy of the letter seems to come from these islands, and there is no way of knowing for sure if the letter even reached Ramsey, let alone if it was discussed and read in detail as Abbo instructs them to do here; but the whole tone and content of the letter implies that the students at Ramsey (who might have numbered as many as forty, according to Hart)⁵⁴ had asked intelligent and

⁵⁰ 'When I was on my way to visit my English comrades, and in particular Archbishop Oswald, I was not afraid of the danger of the sea.'

⁵¹ Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Latin Learning at Winchester in the Early Eleventh Century: The Evidence of the Lambeth Psalter', *ASE*, 20 (1991), 143–66 (p. 150).

⁵² Gillian R. Evans and Alison M. Peden, 'Natural Science and Liberal Arts in Abbo of Fleury's Commentary on the *Calculus* of Victorius of Aquitaine', *Viator*, 16 (1985), 109–27 (p. 109); Michel Huglo, 'D'Hélisachar à Abbon de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine*, 104 (1994), 204–30 (p. 220).

⁵³ 'So that the length of this helpful letter doesn't lead to annoyance in the more faint-hearted readers [...] and when the main points of the answers to your questions have been taken on board you can together read and discuss, discuss and read them [...] Farewell'.

⁵⁴ Hart, 'The Foundation', p. 317.

searching questions during their tutorials, that Abbo had promised to look up the answers to those that left him uncertain as soon as he was in a position to do so, and that he expected them to understand complex arguments and details of metrics and tropes without further explanation. This expectation was probably justifiable. Byrhtferth of Ramsey was one of those students, and he later refers to Abbo warmly both in his *Enchiridion* of the year 1011⁵⁵ and in the Epilogue to his own *Computus*.⁵⁶ We can take these comments at face value; Knowles even describes the tone and style of Byrhtferth's *Life of Oswald* as being 'wholly a product of Fleury',⁵⁷ where Byrhtferth had probably never been. The fact that Abbo could at times not find, or could not clearly express, a categorical answer to the students' questions was nobody's fault; to the English students Latin was a foreign language, whereas to Abbo it was still to some extent the ancient form of his own living language, and they all wanted to know what was right and wrong, even though variation was a fact of life and the old *auctores* were not sufficiently obliging as to agree with each other, or even at times to be easily intelligible.

The letter is particularly intriguing for those modern historical linguists who have an interest in pronunciation. At Fleury, Abbo had already taught the reading and chanting of Latin before he arrived, as his biographer Aimoin tells us,⁵⁸ but his pupils at Fleury needed no great instruction on how to speak, outside the Church services. At Ramsey, the students needed such instruction, for it seems likely that Abbo and his students talked to each other even in informal contexts in some kind of Latin (or perhaps it could be better described as a high and antiquated register of Gallo-Romance). All that Van der Vyver said about this letter in his seminal article of 1935 was that it is 'si important pour saisir l'évolution du parler latin';⁵⁹ and Guerreau-Jalabert similarly suggests that the cheerfully pedantic tone of this

⁵⁵ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. 228–29, in the section on the number 1000: 'Abbo [...] erat enim in doctrinali scientia peritus et in philosophia perfectus' (for Abbo was an expert in knowledge and perfect in philosophy).

⁵⁶ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, Appendix 4: 'Abbo [...] per cuius beneuolentiam percepimus huius rei intelligentiam necnon aliarum rerum peritiam' (Abbo [...] through his kindness we came to an understanding of this and expertise in other matters). Peter S. Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 123–42.

⁵⁷ Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ PL, 139, col. 390B; Aimoin makes no mention at all of the *Quaestiones grammaticales* themselves.

⁵⁹ Van der Vyver, 'Les Oeuvres inédites', p. 128.

letter was also that of his teaching manner. There is no clear sign in the letter that Abbo spoke Old English, or any other kind of Germanic, but he makes clear that he had seen it in written form and knew the sounds which the English letters represented; and he also seems to imply, in the letter which he wrote to Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury as the Prologue to his *Life of St Edmund*, that he could understand English when he heard it.⁶⁰ The letter known now as *Quaestiones grammaticales* is thus an important witness to the nature of multilingualism in intellectual contexts in late tenth-century England, even if its precise implications are tantalizingly hard to be sure of. His visit has been seen as playing a pivotal role in a mass reforming movement; this may be an exaggeration, and yet it was more significant than being just a brief sabbatical by a single talented (if slightly bewildered) individual. In any event, Ramsey certainly profited from Abbo's visit, even though that visit only lasted some twenty months, since the monastery quickly gained an expert choir, a scriptorium, energetic manuscript production, intelligent scholarship, an intellectual reputation, and an Abbo-trained master in Byrhtferth.

It is also likely that the influence went both ways. Abbo's impressive intellectual reputation depends on what he achieved as Abbot of Fleury after his return. His English visit seems to have inspired him in a number of ways, including his views on politics.⁶¹ And his experience of the multilingual circumstances in which he worked at Ramsey, whose intellectual development he did so much to encourage, is likely to have been a contributory factor to his own subsequent encouragement of the expanded production of texts around the year 1000, including some in the form which we now call 'Romance'. More generally, the visit shows how the intellectual developments of England and France remained connected during the years between Alcuin and William the Conqueror.

⁶⁰ *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs (London, 1874), p. 378; Winterbottom, *Three Lives*, p. 67.

⁶¹ Marco Mostert, 'The Political Ideals of Abbo of Fleury: Theory and Practice at the End of the Tenth Century', *Francia*, 16 (1989), 85–100; Elizabeth Dachowski, 'The English Roots of Abbo of Fleury's Political Thought', *Revue Bénédictine*, 110 (2000), 95–105.

BYRHHTFERTH'S *ENCHIRIDION*: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HERMENEUTIC LATIN

Rebecca Stephenson

In the History of the English Language, my students learn that the Anglo-Saxon period was characterized by diglossia, a situation in which Latin was used by the clergy and English by the laity.¹ For undergraduates, this oversimplified version of Anglo-Saxon multilingualism is a necessary evil. However, coming up with a more sophisticated view of the division of languages in Anglo-Saxon England is problematic, especially if one takes the remarks of the proponents of the monastic reform at face value. Reformed monks, such as Byrhtferth of Ramsey, divide the languages as follows: English is for stupid, uneducated, and lazy secular clerics and Latin is for sophisticated, intelligent, and diligent Benedictine monks.² While there is evidence to suggest that the secular clerics' understanding of Latin was deficient (though probably not because they were lazy or stupid),³ the role of

¹ Diglossia was first used in English by Charles A. Ferguson in 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15 (1959), 325–40 (repr. in *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, ed. by Dell Hymes (New York, 1964), pp. 429–39). Its use was expanded to bilingual situations more appropriate to Anglo-Saxon England by Joshua Fishman in 'Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism', *Journal of Social Issues*, 23.2 (1967), 29–38.

² Secular clerics are those who serve in cathedrals and other minsters but have not accepted the Rule of St Benedict. For a discussion of the antipathy of the Benedictine monks towards the secular clergy, see Rebecca Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: The Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition', *ASE*, 38 (2009), 101–35.

³ Cf. Ælfric's similar comments in his Old English translation of Genesis: 'Ða ungelæredan preostas, gif hi hwæt litleas understandað of þam Lydenbocum, þonne þincð him sona þæt hi magon mære lareowas beon; ac hi ne cunnon swapeah þæt gastlice andgit þærto' (If unlearned secular clerics understand any small part of Latin books, then immediately it seems to them that they are

Latin in the education of monks in reformed monasteries is less clear.⁴ The reformers cultivated a particularly rarefied form of Latin known as the hermeneutic style, a complex form characterized by complicated syntax and esoteric vocabulary derived from glosses.⁵ This style of Latin was so important to the identity of the reformers that mastery of it became an important marker of monastic identification.⁶ However, the style itself is so difficult and the syntax so convoluted that it is hard to imagine it as an effective language for classroom instruction. Determining the role of hermeneutic Latin in the writings of a schoolmaster like Byrhtferth of Ramsey, a well-known practitioner of this style, would delineate more clearly the linguistic hierarchies inherent in the diglossia of late Anglo-Saxon England. Although reformers, like Byrhtferth, claimed that they translated into English only for the inept secular clerics (or the benefit of the laity),⁷ the evidence of their own texts suggests that a good deal of monastic instruction was conducted in English or in simple Latin. The complexity of the hermeneutic style made it too rarefied a discourse for pedagogical purposes, especially in the instruction of computus, the

great teachers, but they do not know the spiritual understanding that goes with it). *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Jonathan Wilcox (Durham, 1994), p. 117; translation mine.

⁴ For an overview of learning in the Anglo-Saxon monastic classroom, see Michael Lapidge, 'Schools', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford, 1999), pp. 407–09 (p. 409). See also Michael Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (London, 1993), pp. 455–98 (first publ. in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. P. Brooks (Leicester, 1984), pp. 99–140). Additionally Lapidge has recently published a magisterial volume itemizing the Latin texts available at Anglo-Saxon monasteries: *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006). For the study of Aldhelm's writings, the model on which the hermeneutic style is based, in reformed monasteries, see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 25 (Cambridge, 1999).

⁵ Hermeneutic Latin was described by Michael Lapidge in 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 105–49 (first publ. in *ASE*, 4 (1975), 67–111). This style has also been discussed by E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1915–18), I, 668; Michael Winterbottom, 'The Style of Æthelweard', *Medium Ævum*, 36 (1967), 109–18; and Alistair Campbell, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), p. xlv. Since the hermeneutic style replicates to some degree Aldhelm's style, Michael Winterbottom's discussion of the *Prosa de virginitate* is also important to an understanding of this style; see his 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE*, 6 (1977), 39–76.

⁶ Cf. Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy'.

⁷ Cf. Ælfric's many prefaces, most of which are directed toward the laity, and the many derogatory comments peppered throughout the *Enchiridion*.

medieval practice of calculating the dates of the year. Knowledge of computus was especially important to priests and monks who needed to calculate the dates of movable feasts such as Easter, which is celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. This is a particularly complicated equation, because the medieval computist would have to coordinate the solar calendar with the lunar calendar, while taking into consideration on which day of the week the lunar and the solar event would occur so that the feast could be celebrated on Sunday.⁸

This discussion of Anglo-Saxon diglossia focuses on Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, a bilingual commentary on computus presumably designed for the school at Ramsey where Byrhtferth was schoolmaster.⁹ This text expounds in both Latin and English the information contained in a Latin computus, in such a way that the two texts could be (and perhaps should be) read side by side with both books open to the same page.¹⁰ However, Byrhtferth does not adhere slavishly to the material in his computus, frequently digressing on esoteric subjects like Latin figures, numerology, and weights and measures. Although the *Enchiridion* has been studied primarily by scholars interested in medieval theories of computus,¹¹ it is particularly important for those interested in multilingualism, because the text has a wide range of styles of both Latin and English, ranging from the very simple to the hermeneutic. Furthermore, Byrhtferth names several different audiences throughout the text and comments on the relative prestige of Latin and English, thus making this text ideal for studying Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards language. However, there seems to be a significant separation between theory and practice in Byrhtferth's writing. First, the text is not fully bilingual; its bilingual format breaks down after section 1.2. The subsequent sections of the manual contain English and Latin, but neither language is translated into the other. Second, although Byrhtferth repeatedly

⁸ The full sequence of dates for Easter repeats only once every 532 years. For an overview of the history and practice of computus, see the introduction to *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Faith Wallis (Liverpool, 1999), pp. xviii–lxxi.

⁹ *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS, s.s., 15 (Oxford, 1995). All references to the *Enchiridion* will come from this edition; all translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Baker and Lapidge's edition has superseded the earlier edition by S. J. Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual*, EETS, o.s., 177 (London, 1929). For the writings of Byrhtferth, see Peter S. Baker, 'The Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 22–37 (p. 28); and the Baker and Lapidge edition, pp. xxv–xxxiv.

¹⁰ Peter Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St. John's College 17', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 123–42 (p. 124).

¹¹ Cf. the work of Peter Baker and Heinrich Henel.

claims that the English translation is necessary for the lazy clerics to understand things that monks can read in Latin,¹² several English portions of the *Enchiridion* indicate a monastic audience. This article examines how different styles of Latin and English correspond to their pedagogical functions, focusing especially on the failure of hermeneutic Latin as a pedagogical language.

The Layout of the Enchiridion

In order to examine the layout of the *Enchiridion* in detail, it is necessary to consider more thoroughly the meaning of the word bilingual, because this document is often explained as a ‘bilingual commentary on computus’, as it was above.¹³ However, such a description is misleading to the modern reader, since when the *Enchiridion* is called bilingual, it means only that two languages are present, not that the text is identical in both languages; in fact the distribution of languages in the text varies greatly throughout. Sometimes the Latin and English replicate each other fairly closely, sometimes they have little to do with each other, sometimes one language appears without a translation into the other, and sometimes English-language glosses are interpolated into the Latin-language text. This sporadic interchange of Latin and English throughout the text does not aspire to the modern expectations of a fully bilingual text, with both languages presenting approximately the same message. Nor does it conform to Byrhtferth’s own overt comments about intention or plan in his organization of the text. These statements seem to suggest that the *Enchiridion* is a Latin text with English-language translations added to help the inept secular clergy follow his prior computistical treatise.¹⁴

In order to understand the language relations of this text, it is useful briefly to review its linguistic layout. The *Enchiridion* begins with a Latin prologue, a portion of which is then translated into English, as will be discussed below. The text then proceeds in a bilingual arrangement similar to modern expectations, alternating regularly between English and Latin, throughout sections 1.1 and 1.2, but section

¹² For an example, see below, pp. 133–34.

¹³ See above, p. 123.

¹⁴ Most modern scholars in introductions to literature of the period claim that this is the layout of the manual and the purpose of the Latin. Cf. the comments of R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, who say that the *Enchiridion*, ‘is composed alternately in Latin and English, the latter explaining the former in simpler terms to “the ignorant rural clergy” (I, 1. 172), “those who do not understand Latin” (II, 1. 421–2): *A History of Old English Literature*, ed. by R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain (Oxford, 2003), p. 155.

1.3 begins with a prologue in very difficult hermeneutic Latin that is never translated. At this point, the fully bilingual arrangement of the text breaks down. Nearly all of the following sections begin with a Latin sentence or paragraph, and then continue in English, usually without translating the Latin. Such a textual arrangement might suggest that the Latin-literate monks were receiving more information, since they could read both the English and the Latin portions that secular clerics could not. However, much of the extra information in Latin has nothing to do with computus, but instead is composed of harangues against the idleness of the secular clergy. This disparity between style and function creates a paradoxical position for English in the text: although Byrhtferth presents his English sections as inferior, largely as translations dependent on a Latin predecessor and necessary only for the remediation of the exceedingly lazy secular clerics, I argue that English is the primary instructional language of the manual for both his clerical and monastic audiences.

As the *Enchiridion* unfolds, we see that although most sections begin with Latin prologues or Latin rubrics, the text itself repeatedly returns to an English-only layout. A brief overview of the linguistic layout of the *Enchiridion* can be seen in Table 7. It is tempting to connect the alternation of languages in the text to their proposed audiences, assuming that Latin is for monks and English is for secular clerics. Byrhtferth encourages this interpretation to an extent, sometimes marking his shift from Latin to English with sentences like 'Iam alio modo dicamus qualiter sint clericis nota que monachis sint perspicue cognita'.¹⁵ However, this fully bilingual layout does not last very long, since most of 1.3 and 1.4 and almost all of Book 2 are in English, although 1.3 and 1.4 do have substantial Latin sections, most of which are not translated. In Book 3, the text continues in English for a typological explanation of Easter, digressing almost completely from the computus that Byrhtferth has been following.¹⁶ By the time the text switches back to Latin in Book 4, the material is only vaguely related to computus. Even this Latin-only framework breaks down to a bilingual framework, which in turn breaks down to an English-only section ending with the homiletic style *Ammonitio Amici* or *Postscript*. This brief overview of the languages of the text shows that although Latin holds prominence of place — it begins chapters, serves as rubrics, etc. — English is simply more prevalent. Only section 4.1 is wholly in Latin, and even this section has Old

¹⁵ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 12 (Now let us speak in another manner, so that these things that are thoroughly known to monks may be made known to clerics).

¹⁶ For Byrhtferth's source, see above note 10. His computus is printed as an appendix to the Baker and Lapidge edition at pp. 373–430.

Table 7. The distribution of languages in the *Enchiridion*.

Section	Language	Layout	Dominant language
1.1	Latin and English	Bilingual alternation.	Bilingual
1.2	Latin and English	Bilingual alternation.	Bilingual
1.3	Latin and English	Hermeneutic Latin harangue against the secular clergy followed by Latin introduction to computistical verses. Then English interpretation of computistical verses.	English
1.4	Latin and English	Hermeneutic Latin harangue against the secular clergy. Discussion of computus in English.	English
2.1, 2.2, and 2.3	Latin and English	English text with Latin rubrics and the occasional untranslated Latin quotation	English
3.1	Latin and English	English text with sporadic Latin quotations and bilingual version of the lunar cycle. Ends with 'hermeneutic' English.	English
3.2	Latin and English	Begins with bilingual couplet, then followed by Latin Paschal Cycle. Text continues in English with Latin rubrics.	English
3.3	Latin and English	English discussion of a variety of miscellaneous topics including Latin figures. Ends with discussion of Latin numbers and a Latin verse about multiplication.	English
4.1	Latin	Text is Latin with glosses in both English and Latin.	Latin
4.2	Latin and English	Begins as bilingual alternation, but ends in English only.	Bilingual
Postscript	English	English homiletic format. Latin words included, but immediately translated.	English

English glosses, which seem to have originated with Byrhtferth.¹⁷ The repeated regression to a focus on English, even in sections that begin in a strictly bilingual format, could result from the fact that English is an easier language in which to communicate, even for those who know Latin. However, despite the prevalence of English throughout the *Enchiridion*, Byrhtferth repeatedly protests that English

¹⁷ Baker, 'Old English Canon', pp. 34–36.

is an inferior language, useful only to less-educated secular clerics. Most sections that are dominated by English open with Latin paragraphs or Latin rubrics that offer an authorizing frame to the allegedly inferior English-language texts.

In order to see how this works on a more precise basis, let us turn to the beginning of the *Enchiridion*, which establishes the initial bilingual layout of the manual. Even at this early point, it is clear that the English does not attempt to replicate all material found in the Latin, nor is all the information contained in the Latin text particularly useful. The following passage begins the *Enchiridion*:

IN CHRISTI NOMINE HOC OPVS INCIPIAM. Incipit compotus Latinorum ac Grecorum Hebreorumque et Egiptiorum, necnon et Anglorum. Incipit, id est inchoat uel initium sumit siue exordium accipit. Compotus, Grece ciclus aut rithmus, secundum Egiptios latercus, iuxta Macedones dicitur calculus. Latini habent duodecim menses, similiter Greci et Hebrei, Egyptii et Angli, in problematibus (id est on foresetnyssum).

Her ongind̃ gerimcraft̃ æfter Ledenwarum and æfter Grecum and Iudeiscum and Egiptiscum and Engliscum þeodum and ma oðra.¹⁸

The first thing to notice here is that the English is not an exact translation of the Latin, but a translation of the first sentence only, which is probably the opening of the computistical treatise that the *Enchiridion* explains.¹⁹ The Old English *and ma oðra* looks suspiciously like Latin *et cetera*, which would be used to indicate an omission or an incomplete quotation. It is perhaps meant to suggest that the rest of the Latin passage is not translated and that a monolingual, English-only reader is receiving more limited information than a Latin-literate monk.²⁰ The layout of

¹⁸ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 2 (Let me begin this work in the name of Christ. Here begins the computus of the Latins, the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and also the English. Begins, that is commences, takes a beginning, or undertakes an introduction. Computus is called by the Greeks cycle or rhythm, after the manner of the Egyptians 'latercus', and according to the Macedonians 'calculus'. The Latins have twelve months in their calculations (that is, in their propositions), just as the Greeks, Hebrews, Egyptians, and the English do. Here begins the computus after the manner of the Latin people, the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the English people, and many others).

¹⁹ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 251.

²⁰ Baker and Lapidge translate this 'and others as well' (p. 3), suggesting that it refers to the people groups who hold this computus. In my own translation, I have maintained a very literal translation, writing 'and many others'. Although each of these Old English words is common, this is not a common phrase, and there is no other instance in the corpus of 'and ma oðra'. Therefore, I cannot assert that it is equivalent to 'et cetera' (and others), but only point out that its placement in the line would function in the same way as 'et cetera' in a Latin text, and thus would imply that something is being omitted or glossed over.

this first page with its small sample of English bracketed on both sides by Latin also suggests that the English-language text does not attempt to replicate fully all the intricacies of the Latin text. In order to get the full information, one must read Latin, not the English abridgement.

However, the Latin text is not as important as it would appear, since it engages extensively in the hermeneutic tendency towards amplification.²¹ For instance, the common Latin word *incipit* is provided with three synonyms (*inchoat*, *initium sumit*, and *exordium accipit*). Each of these synonyms is rarer than the word it defines, which suggests that this is not explanatory glossing, but something else. Glossing a word with a more difficult one is not uncommon in Byrhtferth.²² Baker and Lapidge's commentary suggests that these lines come from the scholia on Priscian in London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian I, or the Auxerre glosses on Bede.²³ However, this particular scholia is not in the computistical text most likely to be Byrhtferth's.²⁴ Adding this selection to the Latin text shows the author's erudition and knowledge of other texts, but it does not add substantively to the study or practice of computus. One can imagine how such a discussion could be useful to expand the vocabulary of Latin-literate monks in Byrhtferth's monastic classroom, but the monolingual, English-only reader does not suffer for his failure to understand this specimen of *amplificatio*. Such a reader still receives the fundamental information about the sources of computistical knowledge, albeit without the scholastic ornamentation.

Equally, the translations for computus in various languages included in the sentence 'Compotus, Grece ciclus aut rithmus, secundum Egiptios latercus, iuxta Macedones dicitur calculus' might prepare one for a game of monastic trivial pursuit, but are otherwise not particularly helpful in calculating the date of Easter, which is the main purpose of learning computus. Despite the irrelevance of the Latin information, the fact that the English translation contains many fewer words would be obvious to anyone looking at the page. Whether or not the student can read Latin, from the first paragraph the reader knows that the English sections contain less material than the Latin, but less of what? Not less information, because

²¹ For the hermeneutic style described as 'a straining after *variatio*', see Winterbottom, 'Style of Æthelweard', p. 110.

²² Baker, 'Old English Canon', p. 35.

²³ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 251.

²⁴ For the computus most likely to be Byrhtferth's, see Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus'.

despite the fact that the English has many fewer words than the Latin, all relevant content has been clearly presented in English. This trend continues throughout the *Enchiridion*: the lesser status of the English-language text is reiterated sometimes quite pointedly, 'ut qui Latinitatis elogium non potuerint sumere accipiant saltem uulgarem nostrum sermonem',²⁵ even though English sections contain most relevant information. In fact, one could argue that even in the sections that alternate between Latin and English as this one does, the English is more informative, since it is not cluttered with irrelevant amplification.

This passage also encodes some interesting ideas about language relations in the text in its discussion of the great civilizations that developed computus. The calculation of Easter, which Byrhtferth accepted, was based on the system originally developed by the Greek-speaking church in the Egyptian city of Alexandria and was later adopted by the Roman church.²⁶ The listing of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and the English is significant, because they are not part of the list in most of the computi closest to Byrhtferth's original, which read, 'Incipit compotus tam grecorum quam latinorum'.²⁷ Heinrich Henel has argued that the addition of these extra names comes from the list of the months in five languages on fols 20–21 of the manuscript,²⁸ although the Egyptians, but not the Hebrews or the English are in *J* (Oxford, St John's College, MS 17), which is thought to be Byrhtferth's computus.²⁹ The addition of the Hebrew people should come as no surprise, since the celebration of Easter is based on the lunar calculation of Passover. The importance of the Egyptians is more subtle, because the epact of the Alexandrian computus was based on the first day of the Egyptian year,³⁰ although this was not the epact used

²⁵ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 52 (So that those who are not able to grasp an utterance of Latinity may at least receive our instruction in the vernacular).

²⁶ For a discussion of the adaptation of the Alexandrian Paschal Cycle by Dionysius Exiguus and its later adoption by the Roman church, see *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Wallis, pp. liii–lv.

²⁷ Heinrich Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 10–11 (Here begins the computus of the Greeks as well as the Latins).

²⁸ Since Latin is the gloss for all the months' names, this is really only a chart of four languages. I thank Nicole Guenther Discenza for pointing this out.

²⁹ See the discussion in the commentary, *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 251; the quotation is on p. 380.

³⁰ The Alexandrian cycle began when the moon was one day old on the first day of the Egyptian year, 1 September. The beginning of the cycle is referred to as the epact.

in the Dionysian tables that Byrhtferth follows.³¹ What is perhaps more significant is the fact that each of these people are associated with great civilizations, the sort to which the English aspire. By adding the Egyptians, Byrhtferth has reinterpreted the tradition of *translatio studii* in a computistical context.

Approximately one hundred years earlier, Alfred listed the progression of knowledge to the English as coming from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans in his Preface to Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. In this ordering, he emphasized the biblical translation project, which was first written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek in the Septuagint and later translated into Latin. It is in the context of biblical translation that Alfred makes his famous proposition that 'the books most needful for all men to know' be translated into English.³² Alfred's argument for the power of the vernacular here is stronger than Byrhtferth's because he places his court's translation project on par with two historical biblical translations, both of which were held to be divinely inspired. In Alfred's unwavering belief in the ability of English to express the same content as Latin texts,³³ he makes a very different claim from Byrhtferth, who does not valorize English in quite the same way.

In the *Enchiridion*, it is clear throughout the text that English is a shabby substitute for those who have not mastered Latin.³⁴ As Rita Copeland points out, however, the very act of translating this religiously sanctioned computistical material into English undermines the academic authority that the *translatio studii* seeks to emphasize 'by posing a disjunction in the linguistic continuity between *antiqui* and *moderni*. In a sense the vernacular inserts itself into the ideological project of *translatio studii* as a new linguistic medium for carrying over the learning of the ancients: as a practice, *translatio studii* means the carrying over of learning, but it works like the disjunctive act of translation itself. The vernacular substitutes itself for the linguistic — and implicitly cultural — authority of Latin, thus proposing to participate in the privileged academic discourse of hermeneutics'.³⁵ Though

³¹ Bede: *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Wallis, pp. liv–lv. The Dionysian epact is 22 March.

³² 'Sumæ bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne': *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, EETS, o.s., 45 (London, 1871), p. 7.

³³ For a thorough discussion of the strength of Alfred's belief in the power of English, see Nicole Guenther Disenza in *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Albany, 2005).

³⁴ This attitude contrasts strongly with Alfred's, who, according to Disenza, 'avoided explicitly acknowledging the inferior status of English': *The King's English*, p. 5.

³⁵ Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 106.

Byrhtferth protests that he is forced to resort to English due to the laziness of his clerical audience whose Latinity is deplorable, by writing such a significant portion of such a serious and academic matter in English, his actions undercut his statements. Despite his protests over the inferiority of English, his pedagogical need requires him to elevate the status of English by using it an academic realm, where it might otherwise be inappropriate.

Style-shifting in the Enchiridion

The sociolinguistic study of style (more commonly called register in the UK) was initiated by William Labov in 1966 in his study of the socially stratified varieties of English in New York City.³⁶ Joshua Fishman expanded the analysis of style into multilingual situations in order to show the ways in which speakers vary not only style but also languages based on the context and the situation.³⁷ Applying these sociolinguistic concepts to the languages of Anglo-Saxon England is difficult, in part because the majority of these studies are based upon the spoken word, not the written word, which is the only surviving evidence from Anglo-Saxon England. However, the idea that a style can be varied dependent upon the context is relevant to literary domains as well, especially when those domains imply specific expectations of utility and audience or specific educational requirements (e.g. knowledge of Latin or knowledge of specific authors).

The majority of work on style in Anglo-Saxon studies has not been done by sociolinguists,³⁸ however, but by scholars with a background in literary

³⁶ William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington, DC, 1966); this has recently been published in an expanded second edition by Cambridge University Press, 2006. The results of this study were analysed further in William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia, 1972). A history of the development of the sociolinguistic study of style can be found in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. by Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 2–5.

³⁷ Fishman, 'Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia'.

³⁸ Although there has been much recent work on Old English sociolinguistics, very little has focused on register in particular. For a review of recent scholarship in sociolinguistics, see Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, 'Sociolinguistics and the History of English: A Survey', *International Journal of English Studies*, 5 (2005), 33–58; and Graeme Trousdale, 'The Social Context of Kentish Raising: Issues in Old English Sociolinguistics', *International Journal of English Studies*, 5 (2005), 59–76. The following books present at least a chapter on Old English Sociolinguistics, but do not address register specifically: *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English*

studies.³⁹ In the field of Anglo-Latin, the style and characteristics of hermeneutic Latin have been discussed most saliently by Michael Lapidge, who showed the connection between hermeneutic vocabulary and words connected to glosses. He suggested that the connection between these glosses and the characteristic vocabulary was so strong that the style could also be called 'glossematic'.⁴⁰ In a later article, he revised his view on hermeneutic vocabulary slightly to suggest that the words associated with this rarefied style are those words most strongly connected to Latin poetry.⁴¹ He lists seven different kinds of poetic words that indicate a higher style when used in prose: poetic compounds, adjectives terminating in *-eus*, nouns ending in *-men*, diminutives, inceptive verbs in *-esco*, distributive numbers in place of cardinal numbers, and the third-person plural preterite in *-ere*.⁴² The use of these poetic features is most pronounced in Aldhelm, who is the model for the hermeneutic style in the tenth century. Therefore, any allusions to his works should also be understood as a mark of an elevated style. The poetic and glossematic vocabulary stands out in the *Enchiridion*, since it is intended as a pedagogical text with a functional, not a memorial, purpose.

The issue of style in Old English is a more difficult one to discuss, since English lacks the extensive body of comparative literature that Latin has. Many words in the Old English lexicon occur only once and it is always difficult to distinguish whether a word is rare in the written form because it was seldom used and thus rarefied, or because such a word was deemed inappropriate for literary discourse

Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss, ed. by Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (Frankfurt, 2003); *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics: Selected Papers from 12 ICEHL, Glasgow, 21–26 August 2002*, vol. II: *Lexis and Transmission*, ed. by Christian Kay, Carole Hough, and Irené Wotherspoon (Amsterdam, 2004); *Studies in the History of the English Language*, vol. II: *Unfolding Conversations*, ed. by Anne Curzan and Kimberly Emmons (Berlin, 2004).

³⁹ For a recent example of stylistic analysis from scholars in literary, art historical, archaeological, and manuscript fields, see *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (Albany, 2003). The most linguistically minded analysis in this collection is an examination of colour terms by Carin Ruff ('Aldhelm's Jewel Tones: Latin Colors through Anglo-Saxon Eyes', pp. 223–38). Since this study focuses solely on Aldhelm, however, arguably the most difficult of the Anglo-Saxon curriculum authors, this study does not deal with questions of high or low style.

⁴⁰ Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', p. 105 n. 2.

⁴¹ Michael Lapidge, 'Poeticism in Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin Prose', *PBA*, 129 (2005), 321–37. The same connection between poetic vocabulary and hermeneutic Latin has been made by Angelika Lutz in her study of Æthelweard's Chronicle, another hermeneutic text: 'Æthelweard's Chronicle and Old English Poetry', *ASE*, 29 (2000), 177–214.

⁴² Lapidge, 'Poeticism', pp. 324–25.

but may have been relatively common in speech. It is generally safe to say that since Latin was considered to be the higher prestige language in Anglo-Saxon England, words that affect Latinate tendencies, either in roots of words or in syntax, should be understood as registering a higher level stylistically. Additionally, English passages that imply a knowledge of Latin authors or specific Latin passages are affecting a style that is inappropriate to Byrhtferth's stated audience of secular clerics who are too lazy to master Latin.

One of the most distinctive traits of Byrhtferth's writing is his preference for an elevated style that is inappropriate to the matter of a school text.⁴³ The introduction to his computus, for example, is a very elaborate piece full of Aldhelmian quotations.⁴⁴ The *Enchiridion* also has an introduction ornamented with amplification and elaborate interruptions in Byrhtferth's own voice that could be considered hermeneutic, especially when compared with the simpler style found in much of the rest of the work. However, Byrhtferth did not always use such exaggerated rhetoric. He often resorted to very simple Latin and straightforward English to explain the more fundamental aspects of computus. In order to illustrate the style-shifting of the *Enchiridion*, I will discuss three passages that occur within a few lines of each other, but range in style from something that approaches hermeneutic Latin to relatively simple English. These passages are relatively close to the beginning of the work, in the section that alternates most faithfully between Latin and English. First, Byrhtferth chastises the clerics for their laziness, which requires him to review rather basic computistical vocabulary:

Hesterna die, dum serenius iubar aurei sol<is> tenebras depullisset cordis interioris antri, theologia exor<s>a est (id <est> sermo de Deo) de inceptione compoti et post hec de diebus solaris anni. Diximus quod <annus> solaris constat duodecim mensibus et quinquaginta duabus ebdomadibus <et trecentis sexaginta quinque diebus> et sex horis, quas antiqui <apellauere> quadrantibus; deinde conscripsimus nomina duodenorum signorum et duodecim mensium, sicque alacriter plurima diximus sicuti adhuc plura placet referre. Nouimus pro certo quod plurimi sub<ur>bani ignorant clerici quo<t> sunt genera annorum, sed eorum ignauis consilere placet suffult<us> patrum patrocinio, cum quorum canibus indignus <sum> recumbere.⁴⁵

⁴³ Cf. the remarks of Baker, 'Old English Canon', p. 31: 'It would seem that both in the English and the Latin sections of the *Manual* Byrhtferth's ostentatious style was used not because of the genre in which he was writing, but in spite of it.'

⁴⁴ Byrhtferth's computus is edited as an appendix in *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. 373–427, with introduction at pp. 375–79.

⁴⁵ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. 16–18 (Yesterday, when the serene radiance of the golden sun drove out the darkness from the inner cavern of my heart, theology (that is, the

Although this passage presents a relatively understated form of Byrhtferth's highest style when compared to the hermeneutic Latin of his saints' lives,⁴⁶ the first and last sentences contain the hermeneutic emphasis on form over content.⁴⁷ This passage contains one word, *theologia*, and one phrase, *aurei solis*, that are listed in Lapidge's catalogue of hermeneutic vocabulary.⁴⁸ The first word, *theologia* is listed as a Graecism not related to the technical vocabulary of computus. It is difficult to argue that it makes this passage more difficult, since it is immediately glossed as *id est sermo de Deo*. However, the use of this word introduces a different tone to this passage, since the personified *Theologia* begins to speak in her own voice in a move that seems more appropriate to the *Consolation of Philosophy* or the *Psychomachia* than a computistical text. The second phrase connected to Byrhtferth's hermeneutic texts is *aurei solis*, which is the characteristic way of referring to the sun in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* and the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. This phrase, taken with the ones that follow it, 'the serene brightness of the golden sun' (*serenus iubar aurei solis*) and 'the interior cave of my heart' (*cordis interioris antri*), shows some of the semantic redundancies characteristic of hermeneutic Latin, as discussed above. The sun is always both golden and bright, while the cave of the heart must necessarily be interior. While it is difficult to judge if these statements add difficulty to the text, it is clear that these more poetic words introduce literary flourishes that have nothing to do with the actual practice of computus.

The middle sentences of this passage, which focus on computus, are relatively straightforward and simple. In the final sentence, Byrhtferth returns to a slightly more elevated style with a literary reference to the book of Job in the phrase 'patrum patrocínio, cum quorum canibus indignus <sum> recumbere'.⁴⁹ While the

speech of God) began to speak concerning the beginning of computus and after these things about the days of the solar year. We have said that the solar year is made up of twelve months and fifty-two weeks and 365 days and six hours (called quadrants by the ancients); then we have written the names of the twelve signs and of the twelve months. We have said a great number of things so quickly that it is appropriate here to review several things. We know for certain that a great number of rustic clerics do not know what the types of years are, but supported by the protection of the fathers, with whose dogs I am unworthy to lie down, it is pleasing to tend to their laziness).

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the style of the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, and the *Enchiridion*, see Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, pp. 293–315 (first publ. in *Mediaeval Studies*, 41 (1979), 331–53).

⁴⁷ For more elaborate specimens, see the beginning of sections 1.3 and 1.4.

⁴⁸ Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 130.

⁴⁹ For the source of this passage, see *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 258.

relative difficulty of this section is not easy to determine, it does merit four glosses, two of which are lexical while the other two are explanatory. The lexical glosses, in Byrhtferth's typical fashion, are not more common than their lemmata (i.e. *desidiis* for *ignauis* and *proficere* for *consulere*). The explanatory glosses clarify the modesty topos with the words 'propter humilitatem quod hec composuit' (he composed these things on account of modesty).⁵⁰ The dogs (*canibus*), in turn, are glossed as *discipulis*, thus explaining the allegorical significance of this text: Byrhtferth positions himself as lower than even the students of the great fathers.

Although this section is not as elevated as some of Byrhtferth's saints' lives, it calls attention to its own accomplishment through literary allusions and explanatory glossing. As with the other poetic embellishments mentioned above, these have nothing to do with computus. Byrhtferth uses the elevated style of the final sentence to berate the secular clergy for their refusal to learn the methods of annual reckoning important to computus. This trend continues throughout the *Enchiridion*: the most difficult forms of Latin appear in passages that belittle the secular clergy, not in passages that instruct in computus.⁵¹ A diligent student who puzzles out the meaning of passages such as these is not rewarded with scientific knowledge.

However, as the section continues and Byrhtferth explains the length of the solar year, information relevant to the study of computus, the syntax becomes much simpler, merely listing the relevant months, weeks, and days:

Est annus lunaris qui habet dies trecentos quinquaginta quattuor, quem solaris exsuperat <undecim> diebus.

Est communis annus qui habet totidem dies sicut prephati sumus, id est trecentis quinquaginta quattuor.

Est embolismaris annus qui habet dies trecentos octuaginta quinque sibi si bissextus fuerit; si haut, trecentis octuaginta quattuor.⁵²

The structure of the clauses for each of the definitions is repeated (*est* + term to be defined + relative clause + subordinate clause). This syntactic repetition makes the grammar of the definitions very easy to anticipate and understand. Within the clauses the syntax is easy to anticipate as well, since adjectives that modify nouns

⁵⁰ Baker and Lapidge (*Enchiridion*, p. 258) suggest that this gloss may have been Byrhtferth's own invention.

⁵¹ See my 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy'.

⁵² *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 18 (The lunar year is one which has 354 days; the solar year exceeds [the lunar year] by eleven days. A common year is one which has just as many days as we have said above, that is 354. An embolismic year is one which has 385, if it is bissextile; if not, 384).

are adjacent to one another (e.g. *annus lunaris*, *communis annus*, and *embolismaris annus*), and most of the subordinate clauses follow SVO word order.⁵³ The vocabulary is not difficult, either. The most exotic words (e.g. *embolismaris*, *bissextus*) pertain to the field of computus, which this manual is explicating and defining. These definitions are written in a utilitarian fashion for the purpose of instructing students in computus. While the hermeneutic passage was focused on poetic resonances and literary allusions, this passage more clearly explicates the concepts that must be understood. Since the syntactic structures are repeated the passage could be understood by someone with only a little Latin.

However, despite its simplicity, when it comes to translating this section, Byrhtferth claimed that it would be too tedious to render the relatively simple Latin into English, so instead, he makes it even simpler:

Vs þingð to langsum þæt we ealne þisne cwide on Englisc clericum geswutelion, ac we heom secgað soð to soðe þæt syx cynna ger synt on gerime. Þæt forme ys solaris geciged and þæt oðer þæs monan and þæt þridde communis, þæt ys gemæne ger. Þonne beoð þi geare þreo hund daga and feower and fiftig daga fram Eastertide þæt he eft cume. And þonne hyt byð embolismus oððe embolismaris (þæt ys eal an), þonne beoð þi geare þreo hund daga <and feower and hundeahtatig daga>. Gif hyt beo bissextus do þærto anne dæg.⁵⁴

If we compare this English passage with the Latin it translates, we notice two key differences. First, this is not an exact translation of the Latin: this is a paraphrase

⁵³ SVO word order in a subordinate clause is not typical of classical Latin prose style, but does appear in Anglo-Latin, perhaps because of the analogy with Old English word order and in this case may have helped the English-speaking students to construe the clauses. However, assumptions about the teaching of Latin to Old English speakers cannot be made easily, since manuscripts offer conflicting witness in their syntactical glossing. For instance, P. O'Neill argues that construe marks in the Lambeth Psalter (Lambeth Palace, MS 427) followed Old English word order: 'Syntactical Glosses in the Lambeth Psalter and the Reading of the Old English Interlinear Translation Sentences', *Scriptorium*, 46 (1992), 250–56. However, M. Korhammer in a wider study found no relationship between OE word order and syntactical glossing: 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und Altenglische Wortstellung', *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 18–58. This article rebutted F. Robinson's suggestion that these glosses may have originated in OE syntax; 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 443–75. Cf. a similar discussion of Ælfric's Latin word order in C. Jones, 'Meatim Sed et Rustica: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author', *JML*, 8 (1998), 1–57 (pp. 27–28).

⁵⁴ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 20 (It seems to us too tedious to explain all that I have said in English for clerics, but we tell them truly that there are six kinds of years in computus. The first is called the solar year, the second the lunar, the third *communis*, that is a common year. This year has 354 days from Easter until it begins again. When the year is *embolismus* or *embolismaris*, they are both the same, then the year has 384 days. If it is bissextile, add another day).

of the most relevant parts of the material, and there is no translation of the most elevated Latin section discussed above. As for the second section, instead of a clear list of definitions with a repetitive clause structure, we receive here only the full definition for the common year, which is the same as the lunar year, but that has not been stipulated clearly. There is no explanation of how the solar year exceeds the lunar year by eleven days, as we saw in the passage above. The explanation of the embolismic year and the implications of the bissextile day⁵⁵ are simplified even further. Second, there is a reference in the English section to its lesser status, indicating to those reading the English-language text that they are not receiving the full information because they are uninitiated. However, if the English is read without reference to the Latin, this section forms a cohesive unit, since much of the information included in the Latin-language text is not important to the dating of Easter, the primary reason the secular clergy needed an understanding of computus.

These three passages, which occur within a few lines of each other in the *Enchiridion* in section 1.1, give an idea of some of the general tendencies in language relations throughout this text. First, the most difficult portion is not translated. This trend is consistent throughout the *Enchiridion*; the hermeneutic digressions are never translated into English. Second, reference is made to the lesser status of the English-language text; translation into English is described as *langsum* (boring/tedious). However, despite the reminder that the English portion contains less than the Latin, this section makes sense without reference to the fuller version available in Latin. Third, despite the clear hierarchy of languages established in this passage, where English is least important and hermeneutic Latin is the most privileged, the instruction of computus in this passage occurs in Old English and very simple Latin. A monk did not need to be a practitioner of the hermeneutic style to understand the computistical concepts here. In fact, the hermeneutic digression does not further Byrhtferth's pedagogical aims, because the emphasis on form and its ensuing semantic redundancy makes this style an ineffective tool for instruction.

The Audience of Section 3.1

Despite Byrhtferth's repeated protestations that monks need instruction only in Latin, portions of his English-language text seem to be directed primarily to a

⁵⁵ The bissextile day is analogous to our modern leap-day. However, in medieval computus the bissextile day was calculated on 24 February, the sixth calends of March. A year that had an extra day inserted on this day (and thus had two days called the sixth calends) was bissextile.

monastic audience, especially in Book 3. Byrhtferth wrote of his intentions for this section: ‘Heræfter we þencað iunge mynstermen to gegretanne and mid twyfealdum este gefrefrian, þæt synt mid þam Easterlicum gerenum and mid eallum þam þingum þe behefuste synt þærto to witanne ægðer ge on circulum ge on twelf bredun þe þa þeodwitan þærto amearcodon.’⁵⁶ These *iunge mynstermen*, who need extra instruction in the spiritual meaning of Easter, seem to be monks, not priests. Book 3 departs almost completely from the computus that Byrhtferth had been following in order to expound the mysteries of Easter.⁵⁷ Despite the fact that Byrhtferth is addressing monks, and the fact that he is not translating the ideas of a Latin computus, he continues in English. However, this English is significantly more difficult than the section cited before, both in vocabulary and content.

A sample from the beginning of Book 3 illustrates the difficulties in language in this section of Byrhtferth’s prose, as he begins the typological explanation of Easter:

Nu we þas þing habbað sceortlice gebreued æfter þære ealdan ægesetnysse, hyt ys mycel þearf þæt we hig smealice apinsion æfter þam dihte þe þa fulfremede trahtneras þurh þæs halgan gastes gife hyt asmeadon. Vton nu, la arwurdan gebroðro, us gegearwian þis lamb to etanne. We synt Abrahames bearn, and eac Israeles his sunu sunu bearn we synt getealde. Israhel ys gereht on Lyden uidens Deum and on Englice God geseonde. Þæt gewrit cwyð þæt man sceal witan mid fullum gesceade hwær beo þæt angin þæs forman monðes, þæt ys on Lyden prima incensio lune Pascalis.⁵⁸

Along with the more difficult theological concepts in this passage comes a higher style of English with more complicated vocabulary, some of which derives from Latin. Three words in the first sentence are relatively rare: *gebreued*, *ægesetnysse*, and *apinsion*.⁵⁹ Two words, *gebreued* and *ægesetnys*, do not occur in Old English other

⁵⁶ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 120 (Now we intend to address young monks and comfort them with a twofold kindness, that is, with the Easter mysteries and with all the things that are most necessary to know concerning them, both in the cycles and in the twelve tables that learned men wrote down with them).

⁵⁷ Baker, ‘Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion* and Computus’, p. 138.

⁵⁸ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. 122–24 (Now that we have succinctly narrated these things from the Old Law, it is very necessary that we consider them carefully according to the tradition, which the proficient expositors investigated them through the gift of the Holy Spirit. Let us now, worthy brothers, prepare ourselves to eat this lamb. We are the children of Abraham, and we are also counted as the children of Israel, the son of his son. Israel is rendered in Latin *uidens Deum* and in English, ‘seeing God’. The text says that a person must know with complete understanding where the beginning of the first month is, that is, in Latin, *prima incensio lune Pascalis*).

⁵⁹ For a discussion of such rare words, see *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. cvi–cxv; see also Michael Lapidge, ‘Byrhtferth at Work’, in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English*

than in the *Enchiridion*.⁶⁰ The first word, *gebreued*, is derived from a Latin word, *breviare*.⁶¹ Although this is the only Old English text in which this word appears, it is attested in later English, suggesting that it is not Byrhtferth's own coinage but was relatively rare in the eleventh century.⁶² The word elements of *agesetnys*, on the other hand, are not rare; both *æ* and *gesetnys* are frequently attested in Old English, but the combination of the two word units specifically to denote a written law does not occur outside of the *Enchiridion*. When Ælfric described the Old Testament as the 'old law', he called it simply *æ*,⁶³ which suggests that the addition of the element *gesetnys* is somewhat redundant, but, as we saw before, redundancy for the sake of an elevated style is common in Byrhtferth's Latin.⁶⁴ The third word, *apinsian*, is somewhat more common, but since it is derived from the Latin word *pensare* (to think, consider), its etymology makes this word sound more exotic than the more common Old English words *ðencan* or *smeagan*.⁶⁵ These three words, *gebreued*, *agesetnys*, and *apinsian*, occurring together in such a short passage invokes a higher style of English through rare and Latinate-sounding language.

Determining whether this higher style indicates a more educated audience presents distinct difficulties. This section follows closely after the passage quoted above, which claimed that Byrhtferth would now relate the mysteries of Easter to *iunge mynstermen*, young monks. Section 3.1 addresses a monastic audience three times, once as 'la mynsterman' and twice with forms of *gebroðro*,⁶⁶ a word

Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 25–43 (pp. 36–37).

⁶⁰ *Dictionary of Old English, Old English Corpus*, ed. by Antonette diPaolo Healey (Ann Arbor, 1998–). Notably, *gebreued* does occur in later English prose; see *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. cxii.

⁶¹ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. cxiii.

⁶² *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. cxii.

⁶³ *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Wilcox, pp. 116–17.

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 134–35.

⁶⁵ The word *apinsian* appears in Old English prose only in a single homily of Wulfstan and in the Old English translation of the Rule of Chrodegang, a text known for its close associations with Winchester and the Benedictine Reform, especially in its usage of Winchester vocabulary; *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. cx–cxii. For a discussion of the vocabulary of this text, see Walter Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch: Untersuchungen zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme* (Munich, 1987), pp. 94–100.

⁶⁶ 'La mynsterman, wylt þu witan hwæt þis tæcnað?' (*Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 126), 'la broðer min' (ibid., p. 128), and 'arwurðan gebroðro' (ibid., p. 122).

frequently used to describe monks in the Old English translation of the Rule of Benedict.⁶⁷ But one can never be too confident about the intended audience for any section of the *Enchiridion*, since Byrhtferth also addresses his audience once as ‘La orpeda cleric’.⁶⁸ This is a strange way to address his clerical audience, since the word *orpeda* is exceedingly rare, found only in the *Enchiridion* and in the Aldhelm glosses,⁶⁹ in which it glosses forms of the Latin *iuvenis* (youth), paired with the OE adjective *snell*.⁷⁰ Would the lazy and illiterate secular clerics Byrhtferth described read Aldhelm? In addition to this direct reference to a clerical audience, there are two references to things secular clerics should know.⁷¹ Since those statements occur in close proximity to a direct address of a monastic audience, it is not clear if we should interpret them as a reference to a clerical audience, or if they are more closely akin to the frequent harangues against the secular clergy in the text, implying that this is yet another skill which the secular clergy should know, but are too lazy to master. The passage then ends with the claim that Byrhtferth will make the Paschal cycle known to his clerical audience.⁷² While it is tempting to claim that Byrhtferth’s audience shifts from a monastic audience to a clerical audience at this point, the difficulty of the text argues against this interpretation, since this statement is followed by Byrhtferth’s famous passage of hermeneutic English adapted from Aldhelm’s *Carmen de virginitate*, a passage filled with references to Roman mythology that would be nonsensical without a secure knowledge of Aldhelm. In conclusion, at every point in section 3.1 that Byrhtferth mentions a clerical audience there are significant reasons to doubt the probability of that audience, either

⁶⁷ For the connection of Bishop Æthelwold to the Old English translation of the Rule of St Benedict, see Mechthild Gretsch, ‘The Benedictine Rule in Old English: A Document of Bishop Æthelwold’s Reform Politics’, in *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Korhammer (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 131–58.

⁶⁸ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 132.

⁶⁹ The adjective *orpeda* also occurs at *Enchiridion*, III. 1. 125, and the adverb *orpedlice* occurs at I. 2. 352. *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. by Healey.

⁷⁰ The Old English glossary in the current edition glosses it as ‘bold’; *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 456. This definition seems to arise from analogy with the adverbial usage cited in the previous note, since there *orpedlice* appears in a couplet, ‘*openlicre and orpedlice*’. However, a translation of ‘young’, or even ‘mature’, might better reflect the evidence of the glosses.

⁷¹ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, pp. 122 and 124.

⁷² *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 134: ‘Nu gelustfullað us þam preostum hyt to gekyðanne hwig he sy Pascalis geciged.’

because such mention follows the direct address of a monastic audience (in the case of the things that priests should know) or because the passage requires a knowledge of Aldhelm, and therefore a knowledge of hermeneutic Latin. Despite the fact that this passage is in English, there are significant interpretive difficulties that limit its readership to only exceptionally bright clerics,⁷³ or, more probably, to Byrhtferth's monastic students.

This passage demonstrates that English is sometimes used in the *Enchiridion* as an instructional language intended for a monastic audience with extensive training in Latin. However, there seems to be some anxiety about instructing young monks in English, causing Byrhtferth to remind his audience frequently that English translation occurs only for the sake of a clerical audience too lazy to learn Latin. The repeated harangues against the laziness of the secular clergy throughout the *Enchiridion* may result, in part, from the divergence between the practical needs of a monastic classroom and the linguistic politics of the reform, especially the reformers' cultivation of hermeneutic Latin. During a period in which Latin writers preferred esoteric language and complicated syntax, monastic students could learn difficult concepts more easily in the vernacular, even though they should be literate in Latin.

The Politics of Language

So if, as I have argued, the Latin is fully replicated and sometimes even supplanted by the English, then why is it there? This problem is further complicated when one examines the double audience of the *Enchiridion*, bilingual monks and monolingual (that is, English-only) secular clerics. Byrhtferth repeatedly claimed that he wrote this commentary in order to explain computus to the secular clerics who are far too lazy to learn Latin. However, despite the monks' purported fluency in Latin, the monks can learn more readily in English, their native language, as is shown when Byrhtferth addressed a monastic audience in English, in order to explain the conceptually difficult topic of the typological interpretation of Easter. If both audiences can understand English well, but only one audience can understand Latin, and only as a second language, then why write in Latin at all? Why not write for both audiences in English, for which there is much precedent in reformed writings, such as those of Ælfric? The answer to this question may appear in the passage discussed above on the origins of computus: 'Incipit compotus Latinorum ac

⁷³ As indicated by a single reference to an *orpeda* cleric.

Grecorum Hebreorumque et Egiptiorum, necnon et Anglorum.’⁷⁴ This computus comes from a selection of great cultures and then has been handed down to the English people, the *gens Anglorum*, listed last in the genealogical chain. The superior status of other languages, and especially Latin (notably listed first), is visually represented on the page, as well as encoded in the text, by using Latin as an authorizing frame throughout the work, since most sections begin with a Latin preface or Latin rubrics.

Byrhtferth’s relationship to English was probably dictated, in part, by the language politics of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, which simultaneously encouraged lay spiritual instruction in English and the monastic study of a highly rarefied form of Latin, the so-called hermeneutic style. Byrhtferth’s contemporary, Ælfric, also positions himself as merely a translator in his prefaces to vernacular texts,⁷⁵ even though he too makes substantial revisions to his texts in order to make his writing fit the generic requirements of a homily and be more intelligible to an Anglo-Saxon audience. However, Ælfric is in a slightly different position, because he writes in English for his lay patrons, Æthelweard and Æthelmær. Byrhtferth, however, writes for a monastic classroom, in which his monastic students should know Latin. He describes the tension in his classroom between the secular clerics literate in English and the monks, who can read both Latin and English:

Manega þing we mihton of þeodwitenas gesetnysse herto geicean, ac forþan þe we witon þæt þas þing þincað clericum and uplendiscum preostum genoh mænigfealde, nu wille we ure spræce awendan to þam iungum munecum þe heora cildhad habbað abisgod on cræftigum bocum, swylce ic of manegum feawa hrepige: Highabbað ascrutnod Serium and Priscianum and þurhsmogun Catus cwydas þæs calwan esnes and Bedan gesetnysse þæs arwurðan boceres.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See note 18 above. ‘Here begins the computus of the Latins, the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and also the English.’

⁷⁵ Cf. the comments of Peter Damian-Grint, who sees authorial self-authorization and emphasis on the act of translation without authorial intervention to be key features that distinguish vernacular writing from Latin writing in twelfth-century histories; *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 98–100, 114–20, and 141.

⁷⁶ *Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, p. 120 (‘We could add many things from the writings of learned men, but because we know that these things seem complicated enough to clerks and rustic priests, we will now turn our speech to the young monks who have occupied since their childhoods with learned books. I mention a few of many: They have scrutinized Sergius and Priscian, and have read through the sayings of Cato the bald man and the compositions of Bede the venerable writer’).

However, despite his protestation that monks have read Sergius, Priscian, and Cato, he is now addressing them in English. As the text continues in Book 3, Byrhtferth departs fairly drastically from the computus, making most of this part of the text his own literary creation, but he continues in English, even though he seems to be addressing his monastic students. Writing in English for a monastic audience presents a distinct conflict for Byrhtferth: if he is creating an original text for monastic students, then he should be writing in Latin. However, translating into English for the benefit of the secular clergy is well within the parameters of reformed practices. I suggest that by positioning himself as a translator for a clerical audience, Byrhtferth gives himself permission to create an English-language text, which may also be read by his monastic students.

Conclusion

To suggest that it was easier for monks to learn in their native language is nothing radical. Notably, this article is not written in Latin, but my preference for my native language does not indicate a lack of skill in Latin. Rather, I am suggesting that hermeneutic Latin's focus on words for words' sake makes it an ineffective tool for pedagogical instruction. Hermeneutic Latin was decidedly the prestige dialect of the monastic reform, but when the primary purpose was pedagogical, the text needed to be presented in the clearest language possible, either simple Latin or English, but not the hermeneutic style. This research presents an important caution to generalizing about the linguistic situation in late Anglo-Saxon England, especially when presenting stark dichotomies based on language, such as lay versus ecclesiastical or clerical versus monastic. We especially cannot assume that English-language texts are for the laity or the uninitiated, since as I have shown, texts clearly intended for the very initiated Benedictine monks are in English for the sake of pedagogical effectiveness. Even though reformers protested that a good reformed monk could conduct all affairs in Latin — and in the hermeneutic style, no less — it is clear that they did not. They did as we do: we read Old English and Latin, but write about them in our mother tongue.

NEGOTIATING WELSHNESS: MULTILINGUALISM IN WALES BEFORE AND AFTER 1066

Helen Fulton

CONTACT between the Welsh language and other languages used in medieval Britain needs to be contextualized not simply in linguistic terms — as a process of syntactic, lexical, and phonological influences — but in terms of prevailing power structures. Contemporary cultural theorists from Michel Foucault to Pierre Bourdieu have argued for the close connection between language and hegemonic power, creating a struggle which is both economic and ideological to determine who may speak, in what contexts, and to whose advantage.¹ Languages and discourses acquire hierarchical positions within a social framework: they are ranked higher or lower in relation to each other, in accordance with conditions of political and economic power. The extent to which individuals have access to discourses of power will determine their own position in a social hierarchy. To speak or write in Latin in the Middle Ages, for example, signified not just a geolinguistic location within the Roman Empire and its successor countries, but also a status position, based on a particular form of knowledge, within a privileged cultural group of clerics and educated men.²

In medieval Britain, multilingualism was a widespread general marker of status. Those who spoke only one language, whatever that language was, were the

¹ Pierre Bourdieu describes language as ‘an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power’: *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 66. See also Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (New York, 2001).

² The position of Latin in the Middle Ages exemplifies Foucault’s ‘power–knowledge’ construct. See Michel Foucault, *Power–Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (Brighton, 1980).

dispossessed, like the working poor of Wales and England, excluded from discourses of government, economics, and decision making. In medieval Wales, Welsh coexisted at various times with Latin, English, Irish, French, and Flemish. The fact of multilingualism is not in doubt; what is interesting is how the different languages were ranked in terms of cultural salience and prestige. The status of Welsh was directly related to the economic and political power of Welsh speakers. Within the territory defined as *pura Wallia*, native Wales, the Welsh language had considerable cultural capital and was supported by a strong network of elite speakers. In the Norman lordships within Wales's borders and outside it, Welsh had very little traction because it functioned as a regional language competing with two imperial languages, Latin and English. As is still the case in modern Wales, Welsh speakers who wished to participate in more than one discourse of power had to become bilingual, if not multilingual.

Negotiations between Welsh and other languages of medieval Britain depended on various strategies found in comparable contact situations involving migration and colonization. Thomason and Kaufman have analysed different levels of language contact and their outcomes, from borrowing and convergence between languages through to language shift and the creation of new contact languages such as pidgins and creoles.³ Following the various waves of settlement in medieval Britain, including Anglo-Saxons, Vikings, and Normans, Welsh underwent a process of convergence — exchanging lexical and structural formations with the dominant language — as a result of geographic displacement (when the British were displaced by Anglo-Saxons in England) and of contiguity with different language communities within Wales and on its borders (Irish, English, Norman French, Flemish). The end result of the Anglo-Saxon settlements in England was a complete language shift, from British to English, though this process was gradual and involved an extended period of bilingualism, particularly among British speakers.

The main linguistic strategies by which convergence and language shift are achieved include borrowings, heteroglossia, and code-switching, and there is evidence for all of these in the manuscript record of Britain, particularly after 1066. With regard to the sociopolitical context of language contact in medieval Britain, where the available languages were of unequal status, the drift towards languages of higher prestige can be described as a process of what I call 'discursive acculturation'. This process, by which speakers acquire access to prestige discourses — in the

³ Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley, 1988). See also *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger (Frankfurt, 2001).

form of heteroglossic variants or as separate languages — as a means of entry into relations of cultural and political power, is particularly evident in the context of colonization. A less prestigious discourse is not necessarily eclipsed by a more powerful one, but speakers learn to adapt their language or discourse to the prevailing speech environment. In early medieval Britain, British speakers became discursively acculturated to English without relinquishing their own languages entirely or immediately. Later, in medieval Wales, many Welsh speakers became acculturated to particular discourses of French and/or English which defined their status and occupation.

English Language and the English State

The relationship between the English and Welsh languages, right up until the present day, is based on a long-standing power imbalance which was the by-product of conquest and expansionism. It is easy to attribute the decline of Welsh in the modern period to the imperial ambitions of the English crown, though the causes are in fact a great deal more complex than that, and certainly involve the economic upheavals of the Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, the process by which English (and more specifically, the English of southern England) gradually became the hegemonic language of medieval Britain at the expense of Pictish, Irish, the British languages, and finally French and Latin can be associated with the development of a centralized monarchy in England. The evolution of this increasingly bureaucratic and specialized institution required specialist discourses whose elite status was conferred by their association with political power.⁴

In medieval England, the political state was coterminous with the royal government, a monarchy more centralized than any other in Europe and one which paved the way for the emergence of the modern nation-state of Great Britain.⁵ Its territory was basically England and later the Norman-held areas of Wales, with much of Ireland added after the Norman settlements of 1169. The princes of Wales had been obliged to pay tribute to the English kings since the tenth century, and their

⁴ For example, Chancery English acquired a special status from its proximity to power, though its restricted use prevented it from developing into a written standard. See Tim W. Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), p. 97; J. H. Fisher, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 870–99.

⁵ The argument for an English 'state' under the Anglo-Saxon kings has been elaborated by J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000).

independent territories were finally conquered by Edward I in 1284.⁶ After 1066, the concept of 'England' therefore signified a kingdom whose territories extended beyond the geographical boundaries of the country.

This configuring of the English state as England necessitated the elision of Wales, not just politically but also linguistically. Yet such an elision was problematic and difficult to achieve, and to a large extent has never been achieved. Before 1066, the British languages spoken in the British Isles were not simply suppressed or destroyed by the Anglo-Saxons; they survived as long as they had a power base to support them. British princes in Strathclyde kept their language going until just before the Norman Conquest.⁷ British princes in the south-west sustained a Cornish-speaking culture until well into the Anglo-Saxon period. And the princes of Wales, rulers of large tracts of land which remained virtually free of Saxons, sustained their independence and the prestige of their language until the Edwardian conquest of 1284. When, in the first centuries after the Norman Conquest, secular literature in English suffered a loss of status, Wales was continuing to produce a rich and vigorous courtly literature in Welsh, one of the most flourishing vernacular traditions in western Europe. If any language in Britain was suppressed or marginalized by the Normans, it was English, not Welsh. As long as Wales had a native nobility or gentry class to support the language — and such a class survived well beyond the Acts of Union in the sixteenth century — Welsh occupied a sphere of cultural and political influence which, however small relative to that of English, was nonetheless sufficient to sustain it across centuries of occupation and colonization.

Both before and after the Norman Conquest, a pattern of strategic alliances between English and Welsh, and later between Anglo-Normans and Welsh, undermined legal and political efforts to maintain a clear-cut division between the two language groups. Assimilation, intermarriage, and bilingualism must have been common, and the evidence of chronicles, genealogies, and loanwords shows that they were, most noticeably among elite groups in the March, or border lands, of Wales.⁸ Yet the continuity of the Welsh language and its associated cultural

⁶ For a general history of Wales under English and Norman kings, see Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982); David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁷ Kenneth Jackson suggested that Cumbric, one of the northern British languages, survived until the eleventh or early twelfth century. See 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', in *Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and others (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 60–84 (p. 61).

⁸ For a comprehensive account of Welsh relations with Norman Marcher lords and settlers, see R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282–1400* (Oxford, 1978). On

practices, particularly court poetry, sustained by the patronage of the princely rulers of Wales, ensured the continuity of Wales as a nation separate from that of England, with its own expressions of nationalism.⁹ In his chorographic description of Britain prefacing his history of the English church, Bede referred to five languages and four nations in early eighth-century Britain: English, British, Scots, and Picts, with Latin as the fifth language, meaning that he equated language with nation: one defines the other.¹⁰ The Welsh language itself formalized that equation: in medieval Welsh texts, the word for language, *iaith*, also signifies 'nation'. The English response was to construct the British people as 'other', to colonize the areas within easy reach, and to marginalize and make strange the rest of it.

Anglo-Saxon and British

In post-Roman Britain, multilingualism was a fact of life even before the coming of the Anglo-Saxons. Latin survived throughout Britain as a spoken language until well after the Anglo-Saxon settlements, and Irish was spoken in areas of west Wales colonized by Gaelic-speaking settlers.¹¹ The Welsh language itself was a descendant of the Brittonic language spoken throughout the island before and during Roman occupation. Other descendants of Brittonic are Cornish, Breton, and Cumbric, spoken in the north-west of Britain.¹² With the arrival of the Germanic settlers, British speakers were exposed to a variety of new vernaculars, with Latin continuing as both a spoken language among the Britons and a written language of the Church. The Britons themselves were literate: a set of records or annals written in Latin in the north of Britain was incorporated into Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*

Welsh and English identities around the March of Wales, see Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067–1300* (Cardiff, 2008), pp. 55–62.

⁹ Helen Fulton, 'Class and Nation: Defining the English in Late-Medieval Welsh Poetry', in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York, 2008), pp. 191–212; Peredur I. Lynch, 'Court Poetry, Power and Politics', in *The Welsh King and his Court*, ed. by T. M. Charles-Edwards and others (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 167–90.

¹⁰ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), I. 1.

¹¹ The earliest royal dynasty of Dyfed, in south Wales, was probably Irish in origin. See Kari Maund, *The Welsh Kings: The Medieval Rulers of Wales* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 23–24.

¹² John Koch terms these various languages 'Common Archaic Neo-Brittonic'. See 'When Was Welsh Literature First Written Down?', *Studia Celtica*, 20/21 (1985–86), 43–66.

in about 800.¹³ There are also some Old Welsh genealogies which include a list of the kings of Strathclyde, part of Cumbria, dating from the late ninth century.¹⁴

Between the first Anglo-Saxon settlements and the building of Offa's Dyke in the eighth century, a comprehensive language shift was effected from British to English in the territories which became England. We can hypothesize that the native British people altered their linguistic practice to maximize their economic benefits from cooperation with the incoming Saxons: they became discursively acculturated to the forms of English spoken around them. This is the typical response of colonized countries, leading to what Homi Bhabha has described as a 'hybrid culture', a space in between two seemingly separate and 'pure' national cultures.¹⁵ This is the space, ambivalent and unauthorized, which is most likely to be rendered invisible in colonial accounts of history. Historians such as Gildas and Bede construct the 'British' as a single nation or race in order to perform a discursive act of colonization, eliding the plurality of cultures within 'Britishness' and the hybrid spaces between British and Anglo-Saxons.

Because the British languages apparently declined, and quite rapidly, in the areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement, a historical consensus emerged in the modern period, largely on the evidence of Gildas and Bede, that the incoming Anglo-Saxons drove out or exterminated the native population in an act of 'ethnic cleansing'. As a result, the surviving British peoples were confined to the marginal areas of what are modern Wales and Cornwall, with some pockets surviving in the Scottish lowlands until shortly before the Norman Conquest.¹⁶ More recently, historians and linguists have challenged the 'ethnic cleansing' theory of Anglo-Saxon settlement, arguing that there is little demographic or archaeological

¹³ See Kenneth H. Jackson, 'On the Northern British Section in Nennius', in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. by Kenneth H. Jackson and others (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 20–62; Kathleen Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources*, ed. by David Dumville (Woodbridge, 1980); David Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Brookfield, VT, 1993).

¹⁴ Ifor Williams discussed these genealogies, together with a stanza of early Welsh poetry which seems to have come from Strathclyde in the seventh century. See 'Wales and the North', in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 70–88. The Strathclyde material has been analysed more recently by John Koch in his edition of *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff, 1997).

¹⁵ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), p. 112.

¹⁶ For the most authoritative account of this view, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1947).

evidence for a large-scale massacre or migration of British peoples in the wake of Germanic settlements.¹⁷ Genetic studies also support the view that after the period of settlement the British population continued to outnumber the Germanic immigrants by at least five to one (as a conservative estimate) and that incoming waves of Saxons, Vikings, and Normans had relatively little effect on the genetic composition of the population, which remained distinctively pre-Roman.¹⁸ From the perspective of postcolonial theory, the 'ethnic cleansing' model speaks of a colonialist desire to airbrush out of history the possibility of native cultural survivals.

John Koch has argued that the Gildasian view of the Anglo-Saxon settlement as an unremitting bloodbath in which most of the native Britons were (deservedly) exterminated is at the extreme end of a more balanced probability:

At the other extreme, Anglicisation may be viewed as an essentially peaceful longterm sociolinguistic imbalance. Under the latter scenario, generations of British peasants (in bilingual contact with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours) found the opportunity of improving their lot by becoming arms-bearing farmer freemen, Anglo-Saxon *ceorls*.¹⁹

Koch concludes that a definitive polarization of English and non-English ethnicities can only be dated from the seventh century at the earliest and that most of the preceding period of migration and settlement was characterized by 'disunited, small-scale dynastic polities on both sides'.²⁰ Rather than the picture of British extermination and terrorization painted by Gildas in the sixth century, Koch suggests that much of Britain experienced a relatively peaceful transfer of power accompanied by an ethnolinguistic shift towards English as the dominant language.

Nicholas Higham has made a similar point about English culture as the route to upward social mobility for many British and later Welsh speakers. He takes a more negative view of the process of assimilation, suggesting that any form of Britishness had extremely low status and that 'the ability to pass as English was

¹⁷ The case against 'ethnic cleansing' based on linguistic evidence is presented persuasively by Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Paulasto, *English and Celtic in Contact* (London, 2007).

¹⁸ See Bryan Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland* (New York, 2007). For an opposing view, arguing that the Germanic invaders made a much higher contribution to the gene pool, particularly from the ninth century onwards, see Mark Thomas and others, 'Evidence for an Apartheid-like Social Structure in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 273.1601 (22 October 2006), 2651–57.

¹⁹ *The Gododdin of Aneirin*, ed. by Koch, p. xlv.

²⁰ *The Gododdin of Aneirin*, ed. by Koch, p. xlv.

presumably a prerequisite of social advancement or material reward'.²¹ This may well be true, since the British population seems to have been treated less favourably under the law than the English, at least until the seventh century.²² However, the 'ability to pass as English' does not preclude a continued bilingualism or multilingualism, with British speakers code-switching between a British language in some contexts, English in others.

Higham also argues for a small-scale aristocratic type of Anglo-Saxon settlement, rather than a massive incursion of very large numbers of immigrants. Such an elite settlement would have required labour and agrarian surpluses to support it, encouraging the inclusion of any local inhabitants willing to adapt themselves to the dominant culture. Far from being killed off, the local Britons were more likely to be attracted into an upwardly mobile labour force where a command of English would have been a necessity. Such a scenario, based on language following power and opportunity, would explain the gradual disappearance of the British languages in the areas of Germanic settlement without involving a large-scale migration of British people towards Wales and Cornwall. There is little evidence for such a migration; a pattern of bilingualism, discursive acculturation, and gradual language shift is the more likely outcome for the central and northern British speakers, while the British of Wales and Cornwall had been there since the pre-Roman period and simply continued to live there during the centuries of Saxon incursions.

However, as in the case of modern migrations and resettlements, the extent to which this assimilation can be regarded as voluntary, on the basis of social advantage (as Koch and Higham assume) or was actually coercive, as a means of survival, is debatable. It is sometimes suggested that in the nineteenth century, the Irish language declined not because of English oppression but because the Irish stopped speaking it. To use a metaphor employed by some linguists, it was a case of suicide rather than murder.²³ But what kind of choice were the Irish people making, when there were no jobs, no economic advantage, and few cultural rewards for speaking

²¹ Nicholas J. Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1992), p. 193.

²² A Wessex law-code dating from the seventh century stipulates a higher *wergild* for Saxons as opposed to Britons, suggesting that an ethnic (and presumably linguistic) distinction was still possible at that time. See Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, 2nd edn (London, 1979).

²³ See for example Norman Denison, 'Language Death or Language Suicide?', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 12 (1977), 13–22; Jean Aitchison, *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* (London, 1981).

Irish? We can ask the same question about British speakers in England immediately after the Anglo-Saxon settlements. They may have decided they were better off speaking English, but they almost certainly had very little choice in the matter if they wished to remain where they were and continue to make a living in the new cultural context in which they found themselves.

From the viewpoint of the incoming Anglo-Saxons, the native British languages were of no particular interest to the new settlers, except as proof of otherness. In his Latin *Life of St Guthlac*, written in the middle of the eighth century, Felix of Crowland refers to the British language being spoken by disaffected rebels who harassed the saint:

Tunc dicto citius levi somno experfactus, extra cellulam, qua sedebat, egressus est, et arrectis auribus adstans, verba loquentis vulgi Britannicaque agmina tectis succedere agnoscit; nam ille aliorum temporum praeteritis voluminibus inter illos exulabat, quoadusque eorum strimulentas loquelas intelligere valuit.²⁴

The British speakers are referred to as fiends and devils sent to torment the saint and test his faith, leaving us in no doubt as to the author's hostility to the British people, but this extract also indicates that some English speakers did learn a bit of the British language just through proximity. By the time the Old English poems *Guthlac A* and *B* came to be written down in the tenth-century Exeter Book, the tormenting fiends remain but all trace of their supposed Britishness has been expunged from the text.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's construction of Britishness was arguably the most influential view in the Middle Ages, given the wide circulation of his *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1138). Though Geoffrey was not deliberately anti-British, and indeed acknowledged that his own work was in part a translation from 'quendam Britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum' ('an ancient book written in the British language'),²⁵ he managed to give the strong impression that the British language and indeed all things British belonged firmly in some distant and mythical past. He tells an anecdote about the murder of the British king, Aurelius Ambrosius, by a

²⁴ Felix of Crowland, *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), chap. 34, p. 110. 'Then, faster than words, he [Guthlac] was woken up from a light sleep, and went out from the cell in which he was resting, and standing with ears alert he recognized the spoken words of the native British troops climbing the roof; for he in the long-gone annals of former times had been an exile among them, so that he was able to make sense of their chattering speech.'

²⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of 'De Gestis Britonum' ('Historia regum Britanniae')*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), 'Prologue', p. 5.

Saxon who disguised himself as 'Christianum et Britannum et quasi medicus' ('a Christian, British and a doctor')²⁶ in order to get access to the King. The Saxon, Eopa, volunteered for the job of royal assassin on the basis that he had learned the British language and was familiar with their customs, and could therefore pass himself off as one of them. Whatever the source of this apocryphal story, it implies that a knowledge of the British language by Saxons was not necessarily exceptional or unusual, and that bilingualism worked in both directions.

Moreover, relations between British and Saxons were not uniformly hostile.²⁷ The Saxon settlements and advances inevitably brought neighbouring groups of British and Saxon settlers into alliances with each other to defend their lands. The Latin *Life of St Cuthbert* describes the seventh-century saint being taken on a guided tour of the city of Carlisle, captured from the British by the Saxons and now 'civically organized as an Anglo-British Christian city' with its roots in a proud Romano-British past.²⁸ The Mercians under Penda (possibly a Celtic or Romano-British name) allied themselves with Cadwallon, the king of Gwynedd, to overthrow the Northumbrians under Eadwine in 633.²⁹ The alliance between Mercia and Gwynedd continued for another generation, allowing both regions to expand at the expense of Powys, which lay between them.³⁰ In the ninth century, the pressure of the Viking invasions and settlements brought the southern Welsh kingdoms into alliance with the powerful King of Wessex, Alfred, while the northern Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd looked to the Scandinavians of York as their allies against the imperial ambitions of Alfred.

The Invention of Wales

The rise of Anglo-Saxon kingship and the gradual centralization of power called into being the territory of Wales as a linguistically and culturally distinct unit. There are a number of reasons why we might regard Wales as a creation of the

²⁶ *Historia regum Britanniae*, Book VIII, ed. by Reeve, trans. by Wright, p. 177.

²⁷ For a discussion of alliances between British and English, see Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 112–16.

²⁸ Nora K. Chadwick, 'The Celtic Background of Early Anglo-Saxon England', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. by Jackson and others, pp. 323–52 (p. 330).

²⁹ Bede's account is markedly anti-Welsh, accusing them of being determined to exterminate the English nation (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.20 and III.240).

³⁰ Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, p. 32.

Anglo-Saxons. The linguistic dominance of English reduced the areas in which the British languages had salience and encouraged the development of a British heartland in the west. Geography undoubtedly had some part to play in the survival of Wales and the south-west as areas of Britishness. These areas were furthest away from the advancing Anglo-Saxons, and in Wales, at least, the mountainous terrain of the central and northern sections discouraged colonization. The relative unattractiveness of Wales to the invading Anglo-Saxons meant that it was largely left alone as a British region beyond the main areas of settlement.

In a literal sense, the Anglo-Saxons also created Wales (and Cornwall) linguistically. The word Wales (and the 'wall' element in Cornwall) come from the Anglo-Saxon form *wealh*, usually translated as 'foreigner', though it was not applied to any non-English foreigner. Deriving from the Germanic ethnonym for British and Latin speakers in Roman Britain, it referred specifically to these language groups as the most 'foreign' to the invaders.³¹ The Old English word *wealhstod*, glossing Latin *interpres* and *mediator*, 'translator', suggests that the linguistic aspect of British 'foreignness' needed to be interpreted for the benefit of the Anglo-Saxons. The region of Wales thus became defined by the Anglo-Saxons as the principal place of residence of British-speaking foreigners.

Another linguistically defining moment occurred in the ninth century with the crowning of Ecgbert of Wessex as the king of the whole of Britain. The Welsh annals known as *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, 'The Kings of the Saxons', a compilation of Latin annals translated into Welsh in the first half of the fourteenth century, tell us that Ecgbert brought Mercia, Kent, and Essex under his rule before conquering Northumbria and the city of Chester, the unofficial capital of the 'Britones'. The Welsh text gives this account of Ecgbert's inauguration in 828:

A gwedy darystwg pob man ydaw, ef a doeth hyt yng Kaer Wynt a dyvynnv paub attaw yno o yscolheigyon a lleygeon vrdasseid o'r holl ynys. A gwedy dyuot paub y gyt, o gytssynnedigaeth hynny o wyrda y mynnws ef y wneithur yn vrenhin ar gwbyl o ynys Brydein, a gwisgau y goron am y ben, a galw yr ynys o hynny allan o'e henw ehvn yn y ieith ef yn Eglond, a'r ieith yn Egliss, a'r dyneon yn Eglissmen. Ac ef kyntaf a duc ynys Brydein a dan vn brenhyn gwedy yr Bruttannyeit gynt.³²

³¹ For a discussion of the word *wealh*, see J. R. R. Tolkien, 'English and Welsh', in *Angles and Britons*, ed. by Tolkien and others, pp. 1–41, especially pp. 23–27. Dafydd Jenkins has suggested that the word is cognate with Welsh *gwalch*, 'hawk'. See 'Gwalch: Welsh', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 19 (1990), 55–67.

³² *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 16–17. 'And after every place had submitted to him, he came to Winchester and summoned to him there all the

Unlike the corresponding account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (for the year 828) the Welsh version takes care to highlight the linguistic significance of Ecgbert's conquest. It suggests there is an etymological connection between Ecgbert's name and the forms 'England' and 'English', as if Ecgbert had himself coined the terms. But the account also makes it clear that these words are English words, belonging to Ecgbert's language, not to the language of the British people. The account also makes the point that Ecgbert has made himself not King of England, but King of Britain, and that he was the first English, rather than British, King of Britain. To a scribe and translator of the fourteenth century, this was clearly a defining moment in Welsh history, the moment when sovereignty officially passed from the British to the English, and when the English language declared itself supreme in the whole island of Britain.

This political and linguistic rupture between Wales and England occurred not long after a geographically defining moment, the building of Offa's Dyke somewhere between 784 and 796.³³ Its function was to mark out the western frontier between Mercia and Powys, appropriating a large chunk of eastern Wales in the process. In many ways it must have been a notional rather than actual border, with both Welsh and English continuing to coexist on either side of it. Wendy Davies suggests that Powys, on the border, was controlled by the English at various times, and points to the evidence of English names and the presence of English people in the March during the tenth century.³⁴

clerics and laymen of rank from all the realm. And after they had all come together, with the approval of all those leading men, he had himself made king over the whole of the realm of Britain, and the crown placed on his head, and the realm called thenceforth, after his own name, in his language "England", and the language "English", and the people "Englishmen". And it was he who first brought the realm of Britain under one king after the Britons in former times.' This section of text, along with other references to the Saxon kings, may have been taken from the Latin *Annals of Winchester* begun in the twelfth century. See *Annales Monastici*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 36, 5 vols (London, 1864–69), II, 8. However, the Welsh text makes more of the connection between 'Ecgbert' and 'England'.

³³ Colin Williams lists the construction of Offa's Dyke as the first of a series of 'triggering factors which facilitated anglicisation [in Wales]'. Other factors are the Edwardian conquest of 1284, the accession of Henry VII in 1485 and the Acts of Union of 1535 and 1542. See Williams, 'The Anglicisation of Wales', in *English in Wales: Diversity, Conflict and Change*, ed. by Nikolas Coupland (Clevedon, 1990), pp. 19–47 (p. 21). On the significance of Offa's Dyke as a boundary marker, see Lieberman, *The March of Wales*, pp. 76–81.

³⁴ Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 116. For other evidence of Welsh and English relations around the border in Herefordshire, see B. G. Charles, 'The Welsh, their Language and

Geographically, politically, and linguistically, Wales was created and authenticated by the Anglo-Saxons as a formal political unit, distinct from England. The early period of conquest in the fifth to seventh centuries was followed by a period of consolidation, when the borders of Wales, and thus of 'Welshness', were marked out by the Anglo-Saxons, and a binary opposition, both political and linguistic, between Welsh and English was irrevocably established. The emergence of these distinct cultural identities coincided with, and can be associated with, the establishment of centres of political power in the form of the royal dynasties found in both Wales and England from the sixth century onwards. The emergence of English as the dominant language of Britain did not mean that the British languages ceased to be spoken; rather it can be viewed as a direct product of the growth of a central monarchy in England.

The Politico-linguistic Context after 1066

The standard model of English literary and linguistic history describes a two-tier system of vernaculars in place after 1066, with Norman French as the prestige language sitting above English which was the non-literary language of the people. Recent research on Anglo-Norman (French of England) and on English after the Norman Conquest is pointing towards a more complex linguistic environment, in which most French speakers were in fact bilingual (or multilingual) and language choice depended more on status and occupation than on ethnic identity.³⁵ Barbara Fennell argues that 'there were never huge numbers of speakers of French in England, and even they began to give up French by 1235 at the latest. [... T]he influence of French on English is thus neither extreme nor special'.³⁶ But in Wales, the linguistic situation was different. The Welsh language was itself diglossic: it comprised a prestige discourse used by the native nobility as a formal literary language and a vernacular used by the populace at large as its primary, and often

Place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry', in *Angles and Britons*, ed. by Tolkien and others, pp. 85–110.

³⁵ See for example Nicholas Watson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The French of England: The *Compileison*, *Ancrene Wisse*, and the Idea of Anglo-Norman', in *Cultural Traffic in the Medieval Romance World*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Julian Weiss, special issue, *Journal of Romance Studies*, 4.3 (2004), 35–58; Chris Cannon, *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford, 2004); *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Elaine M. Treharne and Mary Swan (Cambridge, 2000).

³⁶ Barbara A. Fennell, *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach* (Oxford, 2001), p. 130.

only, language. Since Welsh already had 'high' and 'low' variants, its status was never seriously compromised by the existence of Norman French in the Marcher lordships.³⁷ In England, on the other hand, Norman French occupied the position of the 'high' discourse, relegating English to the 'low' position.

Following the Norman settlements along the March of Wales, the country was informally divided into Norman lordships, held from the Crown, and Welsh principalities ruled by the native aristocracy. William the Conqueror felt entitled to hand out vast swathes of southern and eastern Wales as rewards to his army of barons, and despite numerous attempts at resistance by the Welsh, some more successful than others, by the time of Gerald of Wales's journey through Wales in 1188 the country was more or less partitioned into Norman Marcher lordships in the south and east and native Welsh princedoms in the north and west.³⁸ This was to be the situation until the conquest by Edward I in 1284 of the native Welsh lands, their appropriation as lordships of the Crown, and the extinction of the native Welsh ruling aristocracy.

In the native territories of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, Welsh maintained its position as the dominant vernacular. Norman French or Anglo-Norman scarcely penetrated beyond the frontier towns established by the Normans, though some of the ruling Welsh nobility may have learned Anglo-Norman (as well as relying on interpreters) in order to deal with the Crown. Churchmen appointed by the Norman kings to manage the Church in Wales formed isolated outposts of French vernacularity in the Welsh heartland. Away from the March, English, meanwhile, would hardly have been heard or used in the remoter parts of the Welsh princedoms until well into the twelfth century, with the growth of trade and town life. A few areas of the north and west, along the coastlines, still contained some Irish speakers belonging to waves of migration across the Irish Sea in response to trade and other economic imperatives.

In the Marcher lordships themselves, the linguistic situation was reversed. Anglo-Norman and English were the dominant languages, while Welsh was the least prestigious language. The few Welsh officials who held posts under the Norman lords before 1284, such as Gwilym ap Gwrwared, constable of Cemaes in 1241, must have been bilingual and possibly trilingual, carrying out most of their

³⁷ Donald Winford uses the terms 'H(igh)' and 'L(ow)' to signify diglossic variants, one used in official and public domains, including literature, and the other in informal domains such as the family. See *Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford, 2003), p. 112.

³⁸ Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 20–43.

duties through the medium of French.³⁹ But there were also English peasants and tenant farmers in the Norman lordships who were probably monolingual. Almost from the beginnings of Norman settlement in Wales, Norman lords colonized their territories with English incomers, many of them brought from other estates owned by the lord in England. In the Norman towns of south Wales, such as Cardiff and Tenby, the local vernacular or 'low' language was predominantly English.⁴⁰

A fourth linguistic group were the Flemings, less significant in number than the English colonists but still an aggressive anti-Welsh presence. The Flemings had migrated first to England and then moved in smaller groups to Wales and Scotland. In Wales they settled predominantly in Dyfed, in the far south-west, where they carved out their own cultural enclave, aligning themselves with the Normans and conducting hostile campaigns against the Welsh.⁴¹

As a result of these various kinds of migration, military occupation, and feudal land-holding, there were at least six languages used in Wales after 1066 — Welsh, Norman French, English, Flemish, Irish, and Latin — but their geographical distribution, their levels of power, and their contexts of usage varied considerably. Latin remained the formal language of record throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, though French was also used increasingly for this purpose from the middle of the thirteenth century. Among the inhabitants of the Norman towns in Wales, French was the usual language of formal communication from the late thirteenth century and probably earlier. For example, the burgesses of Montgomery wrote in French to Edward I around 1280 protesting about the presence of a market at the nearby Welsh town of Welshpool which competed with their own town market.⁴² When writing to Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, however, at around the same period, they addressed him in Latin, suggesting its ecclesiastical and legal functions, and perhaps a higher register of formality.⁴³ Letters from Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the last native prince of Wales, written during the 1270s and up until his death in

³⁹ Marie Surridge, 'Romance Linguistic Influence on Middle Welsh: A Review of Some Problems', *Studia Celtica*, 1 (1966), 63–92 (p. 69). On patterns of Welsh service to Norman lords, see R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987), p. 284.

⁴⁰ For an account of the Norman origins of these towns, see Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983).

⁴¹ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, pp. 98–99.

⁴² *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales*, ed. by J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1935), XIX. 126.

⁴³ *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, ed. by Edwards, XXIV. 20. See also a letter in Latin from the burgesses of Cardigan to Edward II written in 1311 (XXXIII. 89).

1282, are all in Latin, suggesting his command of a household bureaucracy which included clerks who issued documents under his seal.⁴⁴ Letters from Edward I to Welsh or Anglo-Normans in Wales are also largely in Latin, clearly products of a clerical bureaucracy, though letters to town governments and on matters of day-to-day administration survive in French.⁴⁵ By the middle of the fourteenth century, French was established as the language of record in Wales, as in England, to enjoy less than a century of power before the resurgence of English.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, English operated in Wales much as it did in England itself, that is, as the language of the populace, particularly the urban populations in the Norman towns. As Tim Machan says, 'English was the ephemeral language of daily transactions, a language with a developing literary record and an abundance of native, monoglot speakers but without status or purpose allocated to it in any of the sociolinguistically powerful domains. Given the limitations of vernacular literacy, indeed, for the population at large English remained a largely oral language'.⁴⁶

If this was the case in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, it was even more true in Wales, where there was virtually no context in which written English could find a meaningful expression. English was primarily the 'low' language of trade, commerce, and popular culture. In Wales, towns were very small until after the Edwardian conquest of 1284, and for much of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Welsh people had very limited access to citizenship or burgess status in towns which were largely English foundations.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it was in the towns that Welsh and English had the most contact with each other, and where linguistic exchange most frequently occurred after 1066.

The multicultural and heteroglossic nature of Welsh life in the thirteenth century, particularly in the Marcher lordships, appears to us in glimpses such as this Latin charter issued by the lord of Usk in about 1230, which begins 'omnibus amicis et hominibus suis Francis, Anglicis, Walensibus' ('to all his followers and men, French, English and Welsh').⁴⁸ This was an almost formulaic phrase, which

⁴⁴ See J. Goronwy Edwards, 'The Royal Household and the Welsh Lawbooks', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 13 (1963), 163–76 (p. 172).

⁴⁵ See for example *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, ed. by Edwards, XLV. 71, 73, and 113.

⁴⁶ Machan, *English in the Middle Ages*, p. 74.

⁴⁷ See Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, pp. 371–73.

⁴⁸ London, British Library, Additional Charters 5342; see *Catalogue of MSS Relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part III, Charters and Rolls*, ed. by E. Owen (London, 1908), p. 660.

occurs also in the charters of William, earl of Gloucester, in the mid-twelfth century specifically when he is addressing men of the March, as in this grant of rent to the church of St Mary and St Thomas in Cardiff (c. 1147–48):

Willielmus comes Gloucestriae dapifero suo et baronibus suis et vicecomiti suo de Clammorgan, et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis atque Walensibus salutem.⁴⁹

Such formulae suggest some kind of recognized demarcation between linguistic communities, even if individuals defined themselves across these boundaries. The demarcation also implies that the different groups did not necessarily share a language, and that monolingualism within this heteroglot society was probably widespread. Another Latin charter of c. 1295 records a grant by Owain ap Hywel of Brompton to Richard fitz Baldwyn of Montgomery:

Sciant p'sentes et futur' q'd Ego Owenus filius Howeli de Brompton dedi concessi et hac p'senta carta mea confirmavi Richardo filio Baldewini de Monti Gom'i et Isabelle ux' sue unam forlangam terre mee in villa de Monte Gom'i.⁵⁰

Here on the March of Wales, a Welshman does business with a man of Anglo-Norman descent through the medium of Latin, indicating the practical coexistence and convergence of two cultural and linguistic groups.

The translation of Latin chronicles into Welsh, particularly Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, which was translated into Welsh early in the thirteenth century, suggests a local demand in Wales for high-status texts of national significance made available in the prestige vernacular.⁵¹ Welsh versions of the *Chanson de Roland*, the Charlemagne romances, the Grail romance, and religious texts translated from French also appeared during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the relatively large number of multilingual manuscripts,

⁴⁹ *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, ed. by G. T. Clark, 6 vols (Cardiff, 1910), I, 104 ('Greetings from William Earl of Gloucester to his Chief Steward and his barons and his viscount of Glamorgan and all his men, French, English and Welsh').

⁵⁰ London, British Library, Additional Charters 8079; see W. V. Lloyd, 'Ancient Montgomery Charters', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 22 (1888), 1–16 (pp. 3–4); *Catalogue of MSS Relating to Wales*, ed. by Owen, p. 686 ('May all those present and in the future know that I, Owen son of Howel of Brompton, have given, granted, and confirmed by this present charter of mine, to Richard son of Baldwyn of Montgomery and Isabel his wife one furlong of my land in the town of Montgomery').

⁵¹ See Edmund Reis, 'The Welsh Versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*', *Welsh History Review*, 4 (1968), 97–127; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*', in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich and others (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 97–116.

containing anthologies of works in a mixture of Welsh, English, French, and Latin, points to an audience of well-educated multilingual gentry and clerics in estates and monasteries throughout Wales.

This vigorous translation project corresponds to the recuperation of English as a language of record in England, and both cases represent the re-emergence of national vernaculars after nearly three centuries when French was the main official language. The Welsh translation project represented in part a reaction against the new linguistic and political salience of English after 1282. With the consolidation of an English state which subsumed Wales, the native literary tradition was more under threat than previously and Welsh poets and writers were working hard to maintain the cultural position of Welsh-medium texts. The proliferation of translated texts, especially from French, also suggests a decline in the number of people within Wales who could understand French at some level. The bilingualism or multilingualism of previous centuries was perhaps less widespread by the fourteenth century.

Linguistic Evidence

The key period during which English established itself as the dominant language was the ninth century, coinciding with the rise of a centralized Anglo-Saxon kingship. The emergence of this political power-base in England around the king's court, a structure which was immediately reinforced by William the Conqueror, institutionalized the position of Wales as a subaltern nation. What the Welsh thought about this cultural and linguistic imperialism is not, however, officially recorded. It is an unfortunate fact of the Welsh literary tradition that virtually no vernacular texts in Old Welsh survive before 1066, apart from some fragments and glosses.⁵² The great age of extant manuscripts in Welsh began in the twelfth century, and much of the canon of medieval Welsh literature survives only in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, often in single copies. This pattern of survival tells its own story about multilingualism in early Britain, about the dominance of Latin as the language of record, and about the relative prestige given to English as the literary vernacular of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

There was certainly a tradition of manuscript writing in Wales, in both Latin and the vernacular British or Welsh language, but very little of it has survived, and

⁵² John Koch, 'Why Was Welsh Literature First Written Down?', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Dublin, 2005), pp. 15–31.

virtually none of the vernacular texts. Patrick Sims-Williams has emphasized the importance of the inscribed stones in Wales dating from the fifth to seventh centuries and says that 'the influence on them from lost manuscript writing (whether on vellum or papyrus or wood or wax tablets) is obvious'.⁵³ He goes on to point out that most of the few remaining Welsh manuscripts written before 1066 survived because their contents, mostly religious material in Latin, were useful to the Anglo-Saxon church, and the books were therefore imported into England. An important example of this process is the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript of the late ninth century (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 4.42), containing a copy of the Latin hexametrical New Testament biblical epic by Juvencus (fourth century) with glosses and marginalia written in Latin, Welsh, and Irish.⁵⁴ These glosses and the marginal poems are among the earliest surviving examples of the Welsh language, and it is interesting, though not surprising, to find them in such a multilingual context.

Kenneth Jackson used the evidence of place-names to suggest that there was bilingualism among the British during the Anglo-Saxon period and a certain degree of intermarriage, especially in the eastern regions where Germanic settlement was most dense. Particularly significant are hybrid borrowings where a British element is attached to an Anglo-Saxon one, as in the place-name 'Carhullan', in Cumbria, which uses the Brittonic element *caer*, 'fortress', hence 'Holland's Fort'. Jackson believes it is likely that such names 'were given by bilingual Britons to the dwellings of their English overlords'.⁵⁵ Anglo-Saxon personal names borrowed from British, such as Cerdic, the founder of the Wessex dynasty (W. *Caradic*), Cadmon, the seventh-century poet (W. *Cadfan*), and Cadwalla, the seventh-century king of Wessex (W. *Cadwallon*), further support the likelihood of intermarriage and other forms of social interaction between British and Anglo-Saxons.⁵⁶

Evidence for the borrowing of common nouns and verbs from English to Welsh is not plentiful before the fourteenth century, but this is a factor of the general lack of written material in Welsh rather than a lack of borrowings. Many borrowings

⁵³ Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Uses of Writing in Early Medieval Wales', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. by Huw Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 15–38 (p. 18).

⁵⁴ The early Welsh poetry found in this manuscript has been edited by Ifor Williams, 'The Juvencus Poems', in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Bromwich, pp. 89–121. See also *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript, Text and Commentary*, ed. by Helen McKee (Aberystwyth, 2000).

⁵⁵ Kenneth H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 245; Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', p. 83.

⁵⁶ On the importance of these borrowings, see Tolkien, 'English and Welsh', pp. 8–9.

attested in later manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be shown by their form to have been borrowed during the Anglo-Saxon period, for example W. *crefft* from OE *cræft*, 'craft', W. *barclod* from OE *bearmclap*, 'apron', W. *betws* from OE *béd-hus*, 'chapel', W. *distain*, 'steward', from OE *disc* and *thegn*, W. *cwcwll* from OE *cugele*, 'cowl'. The earliest recorded borrowing, found in a ninth-century fragment of Old Welsh, is *punt* from OE *pund*, 'pound', a word belonging to the lexis of trade, one of the principle drivers of cultural exchange.⁵⁷ Most of the borrowings from Anglo-Saxon into Welsh belong to the worlds of domestic, village, and farming life, suggesting the nature of the interactions between Welsh speakers and their English neighbours.

Similarly, the attestations of Welsh words borrowed into Old English belong to the same rural domestic context, including W. *cwm*, 'coombe' and W. *gwlanen*, 'flannel'. It is possible that the Old English word for hostage, *gisel*, was borrowed from the Welsh *gwystl*, which would throw an interesting light on the kinds of political interactions which went on between the two groups.⁵⁸ One of the most significant borrowings from Old English into Welsh is the term *aetheling*, 'heir apparent', borrowed into Welsh as *edling* with precisely the same meaning. The older Welsh term was *gwrthrychyat*, 'one who anticipates', and it was replaced by the English borrowing *edling* in the early Welsh law texts.⁵⁹ The exact date of borrowing and usage is hard to pin down, but it was almost certainly a pre-Conquest borrowing which shows the influence of Anglo-Saxon legal and political practices on Welsh customs.

One of the earliest writers who attempted to comment seriously on the Welsh language was Gerald of Wales. In his travels around Wales and Ireland in the late twelfth century, Gerald took a lively interest in these local languages and their broader linguistic context. He certainly implies that Latin and French are the prestige languages compared to Welsh, but on the other hand he shows little of the

⁵⁷ These examples are taken from T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (London, 1923).

⁵⁸ This derivation is suggested by the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (University of Wales Dictionary). The female personal name Tangwystl ('peace-hostage') was common in medieval Wales.

⁵⁹ See *The Law of Hywel Dda*, ed. and trans. by A. O. H. Jarman (Llandysul, 1986). The form also occurs in an early Welsh prose tale, *Culhwch and Olwen*, which has been dated to the mid-eleventh century. See *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1992), line 149 and note. For a discussion of the term in Welsh legal practice, see Robin Chapman Stacey, 'King, Queen and *edling* in the Laws of Court', in *The Welsh King and his Court*, ed. by Charles-Edwards and others, pp. 15–62.

scorn of the medieval legislator or modern tourist towards the native language of Wales. He notes the close linguistic relationship between Welsh, Greek, and Latin, though he is unable to distinguish between cognate forms, such as Latin *sal*, Welsh *halen*, 'salt', and actual loanwords, such as Welsh *llurig* borrowed from Latin *lorica*, 'breast-plate'.⁶⁰ Gerald's upbringing in south-west Wales and his connection, through his mother Angharad, to the Welsh royal families of south Wales suggest that he probably knew Welsh as a boyhood language but, like many modern Welsh speakers, lost most of the language when he moved away to other linguistic contexts. It is certainly likely that he spoke a limited colloquial form of the language, partially remembered, while being unable to write it or speak it using a learned and formal register. If Gerald knew any Welsh of a formal kind, he would have had no reason to avoid speaking it with the princes of Gwynedd and Powys whom he met on his travels, princes whose praises were sung by court poets in an elevated poetic register of Welsh which Gerald could not have failed to admire.

Gerald refers, in the *Itinerarium Kambriae* (*Journey Through Wales*), to the importance of interpreters during his travels with Archbishop Baldwin and alludes on a number of occasions to the multilingual context of the journey. He refers to himself preaching to the assembled crowd of Welsh townsfolk and agricultural workers in Haverfordwest, speaking first in Latin and then in French, so eloquently that 'non minus illi qui neutram linguam noverunt, quam alii, tam ad lacrimarum affluentiam moti fuerunt, quam etiam ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt'.⁶¹ This anecdote suggests that Gerald had an expectation that at least some of his audience could understand either Latin or French or both. However, there is no indication that the sermons delivered by Gerald and the Archbishop were interpreted into Welsh for the assembled congregations. The interpreters were there to explain Welsh language and customs to the Norman delegation, not the other way about.

The evidence of place-names and loanwords also tells us something about the multilingual context of Wales and England during and after the Norman Conquest and settlements. Rees Davies estimates there are about 350 place-names recorded

⁶⁰ *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock and others, 8 vols (London, 1861–91), VI: *Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. by J. F. Dimock (1868), *Itinerarium* I. 8 and *Descriptio* I. 15.

⁶¹ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, I. 11. 'Those who could not understand either language were no less moved to floods of tears as the others, rushing forward in crowds to receive the sign of the Cross.' The complete text is translated by Lewis Thorpe, *Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 141.

in Wales with the English suffix ‘-ton’, indicating English or Anglo-Norman settlement. Of these, around 285 are located in the Norman lordships of south and west Wales, suggesting that ‘the Norman conquest of Wales was accompanied and underpinned by extensive peasant colonization’.⁶²

The survival of bilingual place-names in England indicates a long-standing tradition of bilingualism, especially around the border and March, where we would expect it. The Viking name of Swansea failed to dislodge the native Welsh name for the city, Abertawe, ‘estuary of the Tawe river’. Shrewsbury is still called ‘Amwythig’, ‘the fortified place’ in Welsh, referring to its Norman fortifications. Older Welsh names were often translated into English, suggesting a degree of bilingualism in both directions, such as Llan Dewi becoming Dewchurch and Llan Gwen becoming Whitchurch. By a similar process English names were converted into a sort of pseudo-Cambrian phonetics, such as Preostatun, ‘priests’ town’, becoming Prestatyn, complete with Welsh accentuation on the penultimate syllable (compare Modern English Preston).⁶³ Direct translation of English place-names into Welsh is fairly rare, and it is hard not to suspect some irony at work in the example of Humfreyston appearing in Welsh as Trebumfrey, complete with synthetic consonant.⁶⁴

The border town of Oswestry drifted in and out of English jurisdiction, depending on border fluctuations, but retained a strongly Welsh character throughout the Middle Ages. Its English name, from ‘Oswald’s Tree’, refers to St Oswald of Northumbria defeated by Penda of Mercia in 641. But the Welsh name for the town, Croesoswallt, ‘Oswald’s Cross’, is more specific, clearly indicating that the tree was in fact a memorial cross erected to the saint. The evidence of the Domesday Book shows that many Welsh people were living in and around Oswestry alongside the English settlers and that the Norman lordship was imposed as a feudal superstructure on a mixed Welsh and English base of tenant farmers.⁶⁵

⁶² Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, p. 100.

⁶³ Jackson, ‘Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria’, p. 83.

⁶⁴ For this and other examples of separate English and Welsh names for the same place, see Charles, ‘The Welsh, their Language and Place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry’.

⁶⁵ Charles, ‘The Welsh, their Language and Place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry’, p. 98. The Domesday surveys included a number of border towns in Shropshire and Herefordshire that are now located inside the modern political boundary of Wales, including Aston, Knighton, and Montgomery, and a few Welsh names are recorded for most of these areas. See *Domesday Book*, vol. XVII: *Herefordshire*, ed. by Frank Thorn and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1983), and *Domesday Book*, vol. XXV: *Shropshire*, ed. by Frank Thorn and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1986).

The status of Anglo-Norman in medieval Wales as the 'high' language of many settlers and townspeople is suggested by the evidence of loanwords borrowed into Welsh during the two centuries after the Norman Conquest. In an important article on this topic, Marie Surridge estimated that 'several hundred words of Romance origin make their first appearance in the Welsh language' during this time.⁶⁶ There is some disagreement about how many of these words came into Welsh via Middle English rather than directly through the medium of French or Anglo-Norman. While the prevailing view is that the majority of Romance borrowings entered Welsh indirectly through English, Marie Surridge has argued that, at least up until 1284, the Norman settlements in Wales provided the context for direct borrowings from French into Welsh. After 1284, the incidence of English loanwords into Welsh (most of them of French origin) greatly increases, which we would expect, given the colonization of many areas of Wales, particularly in the north, by English settlers and the establishment of new towns with English burgesses.

Words borrowed into Welsh before 1284 belong largely to the semantic field of administration, indicating the new forms of government introduced into Wales by the Normans: for example, *gwarant*, 'warrant', *meistr*, 'master', *menestru*, 'to minister, provide food', *senet*, 'council, assembly', *coron*, 'crown', *cwrt*, 'court', *cwndit*, 'conduit'. Other words relate to new cultural forms introduced by the Normans, including food, clothes, and cultural practices, such as *rhamant*, 'romance', *gwinegyr*, 'vinegar', *bliant*, 'linen', *pali*, 'silk brocade', *syndal*, 'silk', *ysgarlat*, 'scarlet'. There are also some early borrowings relating to warfare, a not unexpected field considering the often hostile relations between Welsh and Normans. Attested borrowings include *gleif*, 'broadsword', *twr*, 'tower', *travael*, 'travail', *baner*, 'banner'.

Conclusion

The evidence for cultural and linguistic contacts between Welsh and English in Wales, before and after 1066, suggests that the English language in Wales had a relatively inferior status before the fourteenth century. The language shift in Anglo-Saxon England which brought about the invention of Wales as the place where Welsh was spoken produced an experience of bilingualism and discursive acculturation which enabled the Welsh language to survive the pressure from Norman and English settlements. Supported by a determined and well-connected

⁶⁶ Surridge, 'Romance Linguistic Influence on Middle Welsh', p. 63.

power base of native princes, Welsh remained the dominant language of cultural production in Wales. Anglo-Norman was introduced as a result of military conquest and occupied a position as a 'high' language of administration, particularly in the Norman towns.

Despite regular outbreaks of warfare and hostility between Welsh and Anglo-Normans, there were also real coincidences of economic and political advantage which brought the two language groups, at the level of the nobility, into close and purposeful contact throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One aspect of this common purpose was a shared exploitation of the English peasant and artisan class who worked the land and managed urban trade under the Normans in Wales. Because of the relatively low social status of English speakers as a group in medieval Wales, the English language had less prestige than French and operated as a 'low' language in the anglicized areas of Wales. It was not until the replacement of French by English as the language of law and administration, late in the fourteenth century, that English began to appear as a prestige language in Wales and to make a significant impact in terms of linguistic diffusion.

Outside Wales, the Welsh language had a relatively insignificant status, reflecting Wales's lack of political power in the English empire. William the Conqueror, faced with a plethora of languages in Britain, including the Breton spoken by many of his followers, decided to issue his proclamations only in Latin and English, thereby endorsing English as the official vernacular of the land which would be understood by the largest number of people.⁶⁷ The imposition of Anglo-Norman officialdom in Wales, particularly in the Church, did not mean that these officials were obliged to learn Welsh, and probably very few did, or not to any high level of proficiency. Writing of Bernard, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of St David's, Gerald of Wales says:

Bernardus iste, quanquam in aliquo commendabilis, pompositatis tamen et ambitionis vitio trans modestiam notabilis fuerat. Quoniam enimvero de curia exierat, et plantatio regis extiterat, ad Anglicanas opulentias per translationem semper anhelans, quo morbo laborant [fere] singuli ab Angliae finibus hic intrusi.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Constance Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff, 1966), p. 8.

⁶⁸ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, ed. by Dimock, II. 1. 'This Bernard, though commendable in many respects, was remarkably pompous and ambitious to a fault beyond modesty. Indeed, once he had left the court and been sent to the king's outpost, he was always panting to return to English opulence, a disease suffered by each of those sent beyond the limits of England' (Thorpe, *Journey Through Wales*, p. 165).

When the Norman cleric William de Hothun was elected Bishop of Llandaf, near Cardiff, in 1291, a mandate from the Pope instructed him that he must take up the position despite William's protestations that he did not know the language of the diocese, a situation evidently common enough to provide no excuse for turning down the job.⁶⁹ Similarly the evidence for intermarriage between Norman and Welsh families, which was frequent, especially among the landed nobility, suggests that the Welsh partners were more likely to be bilingual than the Norman partners. Gerald of Wales's mother, Angharad, was from a noble Welsh family, descended from Rhys ap Tewdwr, lord of Dyfed, but Gerald's linguistic and cultural identity came almost entirely from his Norman father, William de Barri.

The strain of anti-English rhetoric which characterizes a great deal of Welsh literature, before and after 1066, indicates that the origin myth of Saxon oppression and the eviction of the British people from their rightful homelands fuelled a literary nationalism in medieval Wales. In the prose tradition which survives from the late eleventh century, the Welsh are represented as the aristocratic rulers of a self-contained nation, with the English and Normans rarely mentioned, because to acknowledge their presence would be to destroy the illusion of unified autonomy.⁷⁰ The Welsh poetic tradition of eulogies to the Welsh princes composed between 1100 and 1300 maintains an almost constant complaint about English militarism. The enemy of the Welsh is never the Normans or even the Anglo-Normans, but always the English, the *Saeson*, the traditional Saxon foe who usurped British power.

The inexorable process of anglicization associated with political power and statehood eroded what had been a normative multilingualism in medieval Britain. Since the nineteenth century, all Welsh speakers over the age of five have been bilingual (if not multilingual), speaking the dominant language of English as well as the minority language of Welsh, as either their first or second language. Native English speakers, on the other hand, living in Wales or in England, are overwhelmingly monolingual, secure in their proficiency in one of the world's most

⁶⁹ Registra Vaticana 46, fol. 33^r, in *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. by M. E. Langlois, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–1905), II, 698; English summary in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. I: AD 1198–1304, ed. by W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), p. 535. See also *Records of the County Borough of Cardiff*, ed. by J. H. Matthews, 5 vols (Cardiff, 1898–1905), V, 293.

⁷⁰ The medieval Welsh prose tales are translated by Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Oxford, 2007). See also Kristen Lee Over, *Kingship, Conquest and Patria: Literary and Cultural Identities in Medieval French and Welsh Arthurian Romance* (London, 2005).

economically powerful languages. Anti-Welsh resentment on the part of English tourists and holiday-makers ('we went into the pub and they all started speaking Welsh') can be explained in part as the monolingual fear of the multicultural unknown, the hostility of an imperial culture towards a subaltern colony which has the temerity to prefer its own linguistic practices even when the dominant language is available to it. One can almost hear Gerald of Wales complaining that when he crossed the Dyfi river into north Wales, leaving the safe Norman lands behind, everyone started to speak Welsh. What Welsh speakers do, in fact, is to expose the anomaly at the heart of English imperialism: that English is, and always was, merely the national language of England, and not of the British Empire.

CROSSING CONQUESTS: POLYGLOT ROYAL WOMEN AND LITERARY CULTURE IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Elizabeth M. Tyler

In the early 1080s, the Flemish monk, long-term resident of England, and prolific hagiographer of Anglo-Saxon saints Goscelin wrote to encourage Eve, a young nun who had recently left England for a hermitage in Angers. Meditating on earthly transience, he offered her a sympathetic, gendered, and specific image of exile, as he wrote:

Filie regum et principum in deliciis a lacte nutrite, nichil scientes preter gloriam et felicitatem natalitæ terre, nubunt in exeras nationes, et aliena regna, barbaros mores et ignotas linguas disciture, seuisque dominis ac repugnantibus a naturali usu legibus seruiture, sicut nuper filia marchisi Flandrensium nupsit Cunuto regi Danorum.¹

I am grateful to Matthew Townend and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne for discussion of the argument presented here, to Elisabeth van Houts and Simon MacLean for generously sharing their work in typescript, and to Bart Besamusca, Stephen Church, and Remco Sleiderink for bibliographic help.

¹ Goscelin, *Liber confortatorius*, ed. by C. H. Talbot, *Analecta Monastica*, series 3, 37 (1955), 1–117 (p. 41). ‘The daughters of kings and princes, raised from infancy in all delights, knowing nothing beyond the splendors and the happiness of their homeland, marry into foreign nations and far-away kingdoms. They are destined to learn barbarous customs and strange languages, and to serve fierce lords and repugnant laws that go against nature, as for instance recently the daughter of the Margrave of Flanders married King Knut of Denmark’ (*The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber confortatorius): The Letter of Goscelin to the Recluse Eva*, trans. by Monika Otter (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 41–42). For details of Goscelin’s life, see *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. by Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), pp. 133–45 (hereafter *VE*). For discussion of this passage and Goscelin’s interest in language, see Elisabeth van Houts, ‘The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century’, in *Writing*

Goscelin chose not to focus on his own life as an exile, but rather to develop an image consonant with Eve's multilingualism and expectations of queenship. Even before her departure for France, this Latinate daughter of a Danish father and a Lotharingian mother, whom Goseclin identified as English, had experienced considerable linguistic diversity. Moreover, as a girl, who entered the royal nunnery of Wilton by 1065, Eve weathered the upheavals of the Norman Conquest alongside women from the Anglo-Saxon royal families of Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinson. She was thus in a position to know about the lives of royal women, including Queen Edith, Harold's daughter Gunnhild, and perhaps also princess Margaret, the Hungarian-born sister of Edgar Ætheling; indeed she may have known these women personally.²

Goscelin, in addressing a former nun of Wilton, was alert to the linguistic and cultural difficulties of marriage abroad. In this article, I will follow his lead to focus on the use which eleventh-century royal women — some of them Wilton educated — made of Latin in negotiating marriage abroad and the linguistic impact of the Danish and Norman conquests. My main concern will lie with the literary consequences of a series of political events which brought Latin and multiple vernaculars together as languages of English court culture in the eleventh century. This period is often seen as an interlude between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman literary cultures; however, I will argue that, when we look at Latin texts through the lenses of multilingualism and gender, the eleventh century emerges as an intensely creative period for English literature.

My dual focus on gender and multilingualism requires attention to a number of intertwined threads throughout this article, including (1) the multilingualism of virtually all royal women in eleventh-century England, (2) women's social networks and cross-generational ties, (3) marriage patterns of royal women, (4) lay women's education and the role their Latinity played in a political landscape dominated by conquests, and finally (5) the increasing importance of the court, alongside the cloister, as a location of innovative literary culture. In bringing together the threads of my argument, I am building on the foundational work of Janet Nelson and Pauline Stafford on queenship to draw out the integral and distinctive role

Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow, ed. by D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 122–24. (I am grateful to the author for kindly sending me this rich article in typescript as I finished this piece.)

² See below, pp. 187–91. Goscelin, *Liber*, ed. by Talbot, pp. 28–29 and 41 and in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 2–11 and 254. Hollis's book has been invaluable in the preparation of this essay.

royal women played in the growth of secular literary culture.³ Throughout the development of this argument, I have aimed to be alert, following Judith Bennett, to the continuities, as well as the discontinuities, of women's experience amidst political and social change. Women crossed the conquests of eleventh-century England differently than did men, especially, though not solely, because marriage to an Anglo-Saxon woman could bestow legitimacy on a conqueror — as for example when Cnut married Emma in 1017 and when, at the turn of the twelfth century, Henry I married the Anglo-Saxon princess Edith/Matilda.⁴

Recognition of the centrality of trilingualism to the vibrancy — intellectual, aesthetic, social, and political — of the literary culture of Norman England now shapes the study of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵ Multilingualism, however, was just as much, if not more, a feature of the court in the previous century, with English, Danish, and French being spoken and contact extending to Flemish and Welsh speakers. In this context, as well as continuing as an ecclesiastical and scholarly language, Latin re-emerged as the language of history-writing and poetry, finding secular audiences. A consideration of the social and educational ties which unite the leading English royal women of the eleventh century in their patronage of Latin texts will allow for the exploration of the role multilingualism played in

³ Key discussions of queens appear in Nelson's essay collections, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1985), *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London, 1996), and *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999) and in Stafford's *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, GA, 1983) and *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997). Miriam Büttner's PhD thesis, which I have consulted in the final stages of preparing this study, makes important contributions to the study of the education of royal women: 'Education of Queens in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2003).

⁴ Judith Bennett, 'Confronting Continuity', *Journal of Women's History*, 9 (1997), 73–94; Eleanor Searle, 'Women and the Legitimation of Succession at the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 3 (1980), 159–70 and 226–29; Pauline Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-Century England', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred Smyth (Dublin, 2005), pp. 208–23; and Jane Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005), II, 86–107 (pp. 100–01).

⁵ Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 229–49; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints Lives and Women's Literary Culture: Virginity and its Authorizations* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 1–18; and the essays collected in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others (Woodbridge, 2009).

shaping English literary culture.⁶ At the centre of this discussion will be four queens: Emma, Edith, Margaret of Scotland, and Edith/Matilda. In order to situate these women within larger social networks and historical developments, other women from their extended families will also be considered, though not in detail.

I

Before moving on to the substance of my argument about multilingual royal women, I will present three caveats that not so much qualify what is being put forward as sketch out the larger picture of which it is a part. First of all, a focus on women's linguistic skills does not imply that eleventh-century English kings and princes were not themselves also multilingual or at least capable of navigating their ways through linguistic difference: two conquests and much exiling insured that they most certainly were. For just a few examples, Æthelred was exiled in Normandy, where Edward the Confessor, his son by Emma, was raised; Godwin's son and Edith's brother Swein took refuge in Flanders, Denmark, and Ireland and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, while another, Tostig, married Judith, daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders, and served as deputy commander of Saint-Omer; and Edgar Ætheling was born in Hungary, raised in the Confessor's court, and went on to establish close ties with the Conqueror's sons.⁷ However, as will be argued here, the linguistic expertise of the mothers, aunts, wives, daughters, and sisters of these men, who stood at the top of the changing elite of eleventh-century England, had a defining and direct impact on literary culture.⁸

Secondly, within the context of the European Middle Ages, England and its royal women were in no sense uniquely multilingual. Throughout the period, elite

⁶ Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', p. 92.

⁷ Nicolas Hooper 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *ASE*, 14 (1985), 197–214; Simon Keynes, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS*, 13 (1991), 173–205; Renée Nip, 'The Political Relations between England and Flanders (1066–1128)', *ANS*, 21 (1998), 145–67 (pp. 147 and 150); and Frank Barlow, *The Godwins* (Harlow, 2002), pp. 38, 42, and 44.

⁸ For the greater education of laywomen than men before the twelfth century, see Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 43; for particulars, see Büttner, 'Education of Queens in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries'. On the importance of mother-daughter relationships among royal women (including intriguing comments on the use of literature to negotiate cultural difference), see John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1994), pp. 63–78.

women moved across linguistic borders to cement dynastic marriages: the marriages of the Ottonian princess Gerberga to the West Frankish king Louis IV, of the Greek princess Theopano to the Emperor Otto II, and of Agnes of Poitou to Emperor Henry III represent only a few high-profile examples. In the case of Agnes, contemporary clerics commented, critically, on her potential to act as cultural ambassador, bringing customs and fashions from Provence to the German court. That Agnes was a learned and pious woman and a conduit for the influence of French literary culture on Henry III's court reminds us, as well, that the multilingualism of English queens and princesses was not unusual in its impact on literary culture.⁹ However, English female royal multilingualism and learning had thus far unrecognized consequences for how we see Anglo-Saxon literary culture in the eleventh century and for its place within European literary culture across the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Finally, both the male experience of exile and the female of foreign marriage need to be contextualized within wider European trends. Throughout Europe, the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries was marked by an 'aristocratic diaspora' to use Robert Bartlett's phrase. Elites, especially those from Frankish lands, like Normandy, became more mobile. This process simultaneously brought languages into contact and encouraged the emergence of a European identity of which Latin was a fundamental element, with expressions like *gens latina* (the Latin people) being used to denote Western Europeans.¹⁰ Yet even within this wider European framework, England's experience of two conquests within fifty years makes multilingualism a particular feature of this kingdom, especially its court, in the eleventh century.

⁹ Reto Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident (500–1200)*, 3 parts in 5 vols (Paris, 1966–68), Part I, 284–86 and 290–94; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 121–22; Régine Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2001), pp. 30–37. On cultural ambassadors, see Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 149–87, and June Hall McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview', in *The Cultural Production of Medieval Women*, ed. by June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 1–49. For the use of Latin by women married across linguistic boundaries, see Büttner, 'Education of Queens in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', pp. 228–39.

¹⁰ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993; repr. 1994), pp. 19, 24–59, 197–204, 269–91.

II

Shifting marriage patterns across the tenth and eleventh centuries determined both the languages spoken at court and levels of education among royal women — two factors that would come to shape late Anglo-Saxon literary culture. When Æthelred married Emma of Normandy in 1002, England gained its first foreign-born royal bride since Æthelwulf married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, in 856. From Alfred's marriage to Ealhswith on, the kings of the united kingdom of England, which the House of Wessex forged over the course of the tenth century, married from within the English aristocracy. The absence of foreign brides becomes all the more striking when comparison is made with the Continent, where ruling dynasties were becoming closely interconnected through marriages which provided important avenues of cultural exchange. Early on in the period under discussion, although foreign brides were not coming into the West Saxon dynasty, Anglo-Saxon brides cemented Continental alliances. Alfred the Great's daughter Ælfthryth married Count Baldwin II of Flanders, and the high-status marriages of Edward the Elder's daughters created political ties which drew the Anglo-Saxon kings into the complex politics which marked the disintegration of Carolingian kingship in the West and the rise of the Ottonians in the East. Edward's daughters who did not marry entered the religious life, and in subsequent generations it became practice, as far as we can tell, to put all royal daughters in nunneries; thus the role English princesses could play as cultural ambassadors was minimized as the tenth century continued although they became more educated.¹¹ The insularity of royal marriage policy did not leave England outside of Europe — the Reform movement, of course, involved substantial exchange of clerics between England and the Continent, but the later tenth century was not a period when women were the nexus of multilingualism. Thus the arrival of Æthelred's bride Emma from Normandy represented a dramatic change that was to shape, directly, England's relationship to Europe and the literary culture of England in the eleventh century. Because of Emma's own linguistic competences and because William the Conqueror's claim to the throne stems from this marriage, it came to impact on the languages spoken in the English court for centuries to come.

¹¹ Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 92, and Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003), p. 82. For a detailed study of the nunneries, see Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 2000). On the marriage of Edward's daughters, see most recently Simon MacLean, 'Making a Difference in Tenth-Century Politics: King Athelstan's Sisters and Frankish Queenship', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester, 2008), pp. 167–90.

Emma was the daughter of Richard I, duke of Normandy, and most likely his Danish wife Gunnor. The Norman court in Rouen was by this time Francophone, although Emma may also have been exposed to Danish through contact with her mother. During her marriage to Æthelred, she would have learned English. Her subsequent marriage to the Danish conqueror Cnut and her years in his court increases the likelihood that she was a Danish speaker. During her exile in Bruges from 1037 to 1040, she may have learned to speak Flemish, especially given its linguistic proximity to English. Flemish was the first language of the cleric who wrote the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* at her instigation. Emma's personal multilingualism was mirrored in the court of her son Harthacnut and, indeed, within the royal family itself. The leading nobles at Harthacnut's court included a volatile mix of Cnut's Danish followers and Englishmen. Harthacnut himself had been raised in Denmark. Towards the end of his short reign, Harthacnut recalled his Franco-phone half-brother Edward from Normandy to join him as co-king.¹²

Not only was it far from clear that the Anglo-Danish dynasty was secure under Harthacnut, Emma's own position was especially precarious. Suspected of a role in the murder of Alfred, her other son by Æthelred, she had particular reason to want to persuade Alfred's brother Edward of her innocence and of the value of his Anglo-Danish connections. Among the ways Emma chose to negotiate the factionalism of Harthacnut's court was to commission the *Encomium*. The central question here is how a history of the Anglo-Danish dynasty written in Latin could be an effective political intervention and whether its production can be seen as the active choice of its female, secular, non-Latinate patron. It has recently been argued by Simon Keynes, Andy Orchard, and myself that the *Encomium* was written for and from within the Anglo-Danish court.¹³ Thus Emma's text was

¹² *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell (London, 1949), reprinted with supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1998). For a full discussion of the multilingual situation in which the *Encomium* was produced, see Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'Talking about History in Eleventh-Century England: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *EME*, 13 (2005) 359–83, esp. pp. 367–74 where full references are given; only works not listed there are cited here. My work on the *Encomium* is indebted to Stafford's *Queen Emma*. On the linguistic proximity of Flemish and Old English facilitating the literary patronage English queens bestowed on monks of St Bertin, see Elisabeth van Houts, 'Contrasts and Interaction: Neighbours of Nascent Dutch Writing: The English, Normans and Flemish (c. 1000–c. 1200)', *Queste*, 13 (2006), 3–11 (pp. 5–6).

¹³ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, pp. xxxix–xli, lix, and lxix; Andy Orchard, 'Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *JML*, 11 (2001), 156–83; and Tyler, 'Talking about History'.

aimed, not at learned clerics, but at lay speakers of English and Danish, and even French. The recent discovery of the version rewritten for Edward's court after Harthacnut's death further emphasizes the multilingual context of its production and reception.¹⁴ The text, viewed in its immediate linguistic context, provides an interesting opportunity to consider how multilingualism shaped Latin literary culture. Latin was attractive because it stood apart from court factionalism and could thus facilitate Emma's cause in a way that neither the Old English of the Chronicle nor the Old Norse of Cnut's poets could.¹⁵ However, regardless of the important symbolic value of Latin, if the *Encomium* were to influence opinion in Harthacnut's and Edward's courts, it would have had to have been translated extemporaneously into multiple vernaculars — a task which its clear episodic structure would have facilitated and which its prologue, addressed to Emma, implies when it represents history as written down in order to be heard.¹⁶

Emma's Continental experience may have shaped her decision to commission a Latin history. The most obvious place to look, given the identity of her *Encomiast* and her own period of exile, is Flanders. However, while eleventh-century Flanders was notable for the production of monastic histories and saints lives, lay patronage of secular history did not flourish, thus further underscoring Emma, rather than the *Encomiast*, as the instigator of the *Encomium*.¹⁷ The Norman court is likely to have exerted a more direct influence. While it is not certain that Emma grew up in this court, she certainly returned there when she and Æthelred fled the Danes in 1013. Their sons, one of whom, Edward, appears to have been a key target of the *Encomium*, spent much of their youth there. Her brothers, Duke Richard II and Robert, archbishop of Rouen, both supported Latin literary culture, including the production of Dudo of St Quentin's history of the Normans, a text which the *Encomiast* may have known. Although Dudo's work was aimed at an audience outside Normandy, this court was an audience for Latin texts, including verse,

¹⁴ Timothy Bolton, 'A Newly Emergent Mediaeval Manuscript Containing *Encomium Emmae Reginae* with the Only Known Complete Text of the Recension Prepared for King Edward the Confessor', *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 19 (2009), 205–21, and Simon Keynes and Rosalind Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', *ASE*, 38 (2009), 195–97.

¹⁵ See Matthew Townend in this volume.

¹⁶ Lars Mortensen, 'Stylistic Choice in a Reborn Genre: The National Histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of Saint-Quentin', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. by P. Gatti and A. Degl'Innocenti (Trent, 1995), pp. 77–102 (pp. 89–90 and 99).

¹⁷ Van Houts, 'Flemish Contribution', pp. 112–14.

which, Elisabeth van Houts argues, satirized Emma's marriage to Cnut.¹⁸ Both Dudo and the poets of Richard's court name Emma's mother Gunnor as a patron, and she may thus have provided Emma with a model for using Latin literary culture to intervene in politics.¹⁹

Looking beyond issues of Latin language to how the myths and history of Rome, the 'Roman story-world', are deployed in the *Encomium* further underscores Emma's agency in the production of this text.²⁰ Not only is Emma the Encomiast's main informant about the events he recounts, as Stafford has shown, but she appears to take charge of how the Encomiast uses Trojan legends which is marked by the integration of English, Scandinavian, and classical traditions. For example, the ships which bring Cnut from Denmark to England simultaneously recall those in which Aeneas set sail for Italy and the ornamented ships of Scandinavia, familiar from later sagas. Likewise too, we can suspect Emma's influence on the way the text represents Cnut as a second Aeneas while carefully respecting Anglo-Saxon traditions of non-Trojan royal descent; no claim to Trojan ancestry is made. Emma's literary sensibilities and political sensitivities are key here rather than those of the Encomiast, which he acknowledges when he figures her as Octavian, patron of the *Aeneid*. In a multilingual environment, a non-Latinate woman turned to Latin history-writing and the legends of Rome, and in so doing she set a trend for the use of Latin texts in multilingual contexts which would continue to develop. The *Encomium* inaugurates a new phase of history writing, one that was neither wholly monastic nor, like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written in English. Looking at the *Encomium* from the perspective of the court's linguistic situation and its patron's gender opens up to view how multilingual queens were the impetus behind innovations in English literary culture. These innovations, moreover, point to the currency of the Roman story-world among the non-literate laity.

The movements of other royal women during the period of Anglo-Danish rule illustrates further how multilingual royal women opened up avenues for cultural exchange as they created political alliances which embedded the English court within Europe. Cnut's other wife, Ælfgifu of Northampton, also operated

¹⁸ Elisabeth van Houts, 'A Note on *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*, Two Latin Norman Poems from the Early Eleventh Century', *JML*, 2 (1992), 18–24.

¹⁹ Campbell (*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, pp. xxii and xxxiv–xxxv) suggests knowledge of Dudo, though I disagree with his assessment of the stylistic similarity of the two texts.

²⁰ For the expression 'Roman story-world', which includes both Roman myth and history and their long reception in the post-classical world, see T. P. Wiseman, *The Myths of Rome* (Exeter, 2004), esp. pp. 10–12.

internationally. She and her sons by Cnut may have gone to Denmark after his marriage to Emma. She acted as regent for her young son Swein, accompanying him to Norway when he ruled as king from 1030 to 1034. Like his father, Swein recognized the political utility of poetry and patronized skalds. One might wonder what role Ælfgifu played in this; Matthew Townend raises the ‘intriguing speculation’ that she is the woman addressed in the fragmentary poem *Sveinsflokkv*. She was, in any case, remembered in later skaldic verse and saga prose.²¹

Meanwhile, the marriages of Emma’s daughters reveal princesses were being used to foster international ties, as had not happened since the marriages of Edward the Elder’s daughters. In the pages of Guibert of Nogent’s famous early twelfth-century autobiography, we catch a glimpse of the possible cultural consequences of Godgifu’s first marriage to Drogo, count of the Vexin. Guibert develops his well-honed condemnation of simony by recounting the story of Hélinand, who became Edward the Confessor’s chaplain when he was recommended to Edith by Godgifu’s son, Walter. Despite Guibert’s contempt for Hélinand’s learning, the cleric rose to become Bishop of Laon, although he was thwarted in his attempt to become Archbishop of Reims. Here we see a French cleric moving from within the English royal court to two of the most famous centres of learning in the High Middle Ages.²² Godgifu’s gift of a gospel book to Rochester Cathedral may perhaps suggest her own literacy.²³

A much fuller picture can be proposed when we consider Gunnhild, daughter of Cnut and Emma. In 1036, Gunnhild was married to Henry III (an exceptionally learned and cultured prince whose mother took an active role in his education), before he became German emperor.²⁴ Perhaps escorted by Brihteah, bishop of

²¹ Matthew Townend, ‘Knútr and the Cult of St Óláfr: Poetry and Patronage in Eleventh-Century Norway and England’, *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, 1 (2005), 251–79, esp. pp. 254–57 and 266; and Timothy Bolton, ‘Ælfgifu of Northampton: Cnut the Great’s Other Woman’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 51 (2007), 247–68 (p. 264).

²² Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. by Edmond-René Lebande (Paris, 1981), pp. 270–72; John Williams, ‘Archbishop Manassess I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII’, *American Historical Review*, 54 (1949), 804–24 (p. 807).

²³ London, British Library, MS Royal 1.D.3. C. R. Cheney, ‘Service-Books and Records: The Case of the “Domesday Monachorum”’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 56 (1983), 5–15 (p. 9, N.B. the manuscript number is misquoted), and Rebecca Rushforth, ‘The Crowland Psalter and Gundrada de Warene’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 21 (2008), 156–68 (p. 164).

²⁴ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 200–02; and Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990–1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms* (University Park, PA, 2006), pp. 22 and 141.

Worcester, she arrived in the German court after an expensive send-off in England, likely via Denmark where she acquired a Danish chaplain, Timmo.²⁵ Her companions may indicate that Gunnhild was bilingual. After her death Timmo became Bishop of Hildesheim; it is recorded, in the life of his predecessor, that while he was good to his people and clergy as bishop, he was deficient in the knowledge of letters. In other words, he stood out as un-Latinate amidst the courtly bishops of Salian Germany.²⁶ Although Timmo's lack of learning suggests that we should see Gunnhild as an example of a royal daughter who was not herself Latinate (and this offers precious insight into the kind of education Emma and Cnut thought suitable for their daughter), we should not imagine that Gunnhild was cut off from the learned men who frequented Conrad II's court. A letter recounts how Bishop Azecho of Worms (famous for its cathedral school) was accustomed to visit Gunnhild — bringing her almonds to ease her homesickness. The letter also tells that Emma sent envoys to her daughter updating her on the succession crisis which followed Cnut's death.²⁷ During her time as a German queen, Gunnhild travelled as part of the itinerant court of her father-in-law Conrad II, reaching as far south as Monte Cassino, where she is recorded as receiving hospitality during a visit made by her husband and in-laws

²⁵ The marriage is recorded in many English and Continental sources, though not in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles or the *Encomium*; for examples, see Wipo, *Gesta Chounradi Imperatoris*, c. 35, ed. by Harry Bresslau, *Die Werke Wipos (Wiponis Opera)*, MGH SSRG, 61 (Hannover, 1915), p. 54; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, s.a. 1035 and 1046, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SSRG, 8 (Hannover, 1878), pp. 39 and 40; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, II. 56, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SSRG, 2 (Hannover, 1917), pp. 116–17; *VE*, I. 1, p. 16; *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, c. 18, ed. by J. Laporte (Rouen, 1938), pp. 29–30; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–99), I, 338 (hereafter *GR*). Harry Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–84), I, 169–70; Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, *Von Speyer nach Rom: Wegstationen und Lebensspuren der Salier* (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 75–76; Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells (1061–1088)', *ANS*, 19 (1996), 203–71 (p. 206); and Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 142–43. Disagreement as to whether Gunnhild departed from England or Denmark can be reconciled by suggesting that she went from England to Denmark and from there to Germany.

²⁶ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, s.a. 1038, ed. by Waitz, p. 43; Wolthere, *Vita Godehardi episcopi posterior*, c. 33, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH Scriptores, 11 (Hannover, 1854), pp. 196–218 (p. 215); Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, II. 79, ed. by Schmeidler, p. 136. Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs*, pp. 331–32; and Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 283.

²⁷ *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, Letter 5, ed. by Walther Bulst, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 3 (Weimar, 1949), III, 20–22. Schwarzmaier, *Von Speyer nach Rom*, pp. 72–75; Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 275–78; and C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 61–64.

on the occasion of the installation of a new abbot.²⁸ Although the chronicles which recount this event give no indication of what that hospitality consisted of, it is worth remembering that in the mid-eleventh century, Monte Cassino was a vibrant centre of literary culture.²⁹ Gunnhild thus stood at the intersection of English, Danish, and international German imperial court culture and at the intersection of orality and literacy — in a manner which recalls the example of her own mother. Gunnhild died very young in 1038 leaving behind an infant daughter, Beatrix, who went on to become the Abbess of Quedlinburg and Gandersheim — foundations renowned for their role as keepers of German imperial history.³⁰

German connections were not forgotten with the death of Gunnhild. German ambassadors were present at the coronation of Edward who would later support Henry III against the Flemish. Edward in turn relied on Henry's help to find Edward the Exile, his half-nephew and potential heir who had fled to the Hungarian court.³¹ We need not doubt that Beatrix was known to her Anglo-Saxon family. The *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, written in Normandy in the mid-1050s, mentions that she became a nun. Elisabeth van Houts identifies Robert of Jumièges as the source of this text's up-to-date knowledge of the English court. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury and disgraced advisor of Edward the Confessor, returned to Normandy in 1051. If he knew about Beatrix, it is likely that Edward's court did too. Similarly, Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, sent to Cologne in search of Edward the Exile, may have brought news of Beatrix back to England after meeting her father Henry III.³²

²⁸ *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, II, 63, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH Scriptores, 34 (Hannover, 1980), pp. 289–90. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 135–36.

²⁹ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 19–27.

³⁰ Wipo, *Gesta Choumradi Imperatoris*, c. 37, p. 57; *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, ed. by Harry Bresslau and Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 5 (Berlin, 1931), no. 135, pp. 170–72. K. J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), pp. 63–73; Mechtild Black, 'Die Töchter Kaiser Heinrichs III und der Kaiserin Agnes', in *Vinculum Societatis: Joachim Wollasch zum 60 Geburtstag*, ed. by Franz Neiske and others (Sigmaringendorf, 1991), pp. 36–57 (pp. 52–53); Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 143.

³¹ *VE*, I, 1, p. 16. Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley, 1970), pp. 98–99 and 215; and James Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. by James Campbell (London, 1986), pp. 191–207 (pp. 194–97).

³² *Inventio*, c. 18, ed. by Laporte, pp. 29–30. Elisabeth van Houts, 'Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: The "Inventio et Miracula Sancti Vulfranni"', *ANS*, 12 (1989),

On a more literary level, the ties of kinship which bound the English and Salian dynasties provide a context for the arrival of the *Cambridge Songs* in Canterbury by the middle of the eleventh century.³³ Jan Ziolkowski describes this collection as broadly Western European in their ancestry. Copied at St Augustine's Canterbury, these Latin poems appear to have come together in Germany, perhaps for Henry III. They include verse composed in Germany, France, and Italy, as well as classical and late antique verse.³⁴ Among the poems are six in praise of German emperors, including one which mentions the death of Gunnhild. Women's voices and perspectives are, moreover, prominent throughout the manuscript, including in poetry about nunneries and queens and in passionate laments excerpted from Statius's *Thebaid*. Ziolkowski identifies the way the popularity of Statian poetry contributed to the emergence of courtly romance (among the earliest romance is the *Roman de Thèbes*, a French reworking of the *Thebaid*), but a much closer connection can be found.³⁵ The preoccupations with women's voices, classical poetry, nuns, and queens which distinguish the *Cambridge Songs* become, as I will argue in the next section, driving forces in the literary culture of the women of the next generation of the Anglo-Saxon royal family.

III

When Edward the Confessor married Edith, he was reverting to the long-established marriage patterns of the English kings. In taking an English aristocratic woman for his wife, however, he was not retreating into a monoglot world. According to the anonymous author who wrote a life of the Confessor at Edith's behest, his patron was able to speak English, Danish, French, and Irish.³⁶ The first three of these are readily understandable. Edith's English father, Earl Godwin, rose to power under Cnut and married Gytha, a Danish woman.³⁷ Her husband, as we have already noted, was Franco- as well as Anglophone, and his court was notable for the presence of clerics from around the French-speaking world — Lotharingians and

233–51 (p. 249); and Michael Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E.XII', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 453–67 (p. 464).

³³ Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', p. 464.

³⁴ *The Cambridge Songs*, ed. by Jan Ziolkowski (New York, 1994), pp. xvii–lxiii.

³⁵ *The Cambridge Songs*, ed. by Ziolkowski, p. 263.

³⁶ *VE*, I, 2, p. 22 (assuming this is not an addition by Richard of Cirencester).

³⁷ Barlow, *Godwins*, pp. 17–50.

Parisians, as well as Normans.³⁸ Although Irish may seem farfetched, her brothers spent repeated periods of exile in Ireland.³⁹ That exaggeration remains a possibility only serves to underscore the symbolic value of the multilingualism of a royal woman. Edith's linguistic skills were proclaimed by the anonymous writer of her text; they are part of what made her an ideal queen and alert us to the role queens played in facilitating cultural contact at court.⁴⁰

Edith was also Latinate, as the anonymous author of the life of her husband proudly announced, in a claim that was not mere flattery. The hagiographer of St Kenelm, the epigrapher Godfrey of Winchester, and William of Malmesbury all confirm her learning.⁴¹ Edith acquired her Latin at the royal nunnery of Wilton. Examining the Latinity of the *Vita Ædwardi* and considering its implications for the text's audience will allow us to see how royal nunneries became a major influence on the literary culture of the English court and how the advanced Latinity of a group of women assured that this court culture crossed the linguistic upheaval of the Conquest.

Edith commissioned the *Vita Ædwardi* at the end of Edward's reign and thus at the end of the long-lived West Saxon dynasty: Edward was by then an old man with no obvious heir from within his own family. In so doing she was carrying on directly from her mother-in-law's example in using the patronage of a text as a political tool.⁴² There is, moreover, filiation on a textual level; the *Vita*, also likely to have been written by a monk of Saint-Bertin, draws directly on the *Encomium*.⁴³ Protecting Edith's interests in the constantly shifting political landscape of 1065–67, which saw the rebellion of her brother Tostig, the death of Edward, the reign of her brother Harold, and the Battle of Hastings, was an even more complicated task than managing the factionalism of Harthacnut's court. This complexity

³⁸ Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS*, 10 (1987), 185–222.

³⁹ See Julia Crick in this volume.

⁴⁰ Büttner, 'Education of Queens in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', pp. 228–39.

⁴¹ *VE*, I, 2, p. 22; *Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi*, in *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ed. by Rosalind Love (Oxford, 1996), p. 52; Godfrey of Winchester, in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London, 1872), II, 149; and *GR*, I, 352.

⁴² Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 28–52. My discussion of the *VE* is indebted to Stafford's work on Edith.

⁴³ Elizabeth M. Tyler, "'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread': The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor", in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 83–107.

is mirrored in the form of the text itself. In its first book the Anonymous combines a prose account of Edward's reign, from a broadly Godwinist perspective, with religious and classicizing verse. This classicizing verse works against the obvious meaning of the prose. For example, in the prose it is said about Godwin that 'eum ab omnibus Anglis pro patre coli'.⁴⁴ In contrast, in the verse account of the magnificent ship he gave to Edward on his coronation, classical allusion parallels the Earl to a Greek bearing gifts and to Pyrrhus who killed Priam, king of Troy.⁴⁵ When there appears no other way to redeem Edith's situation, the Anonymous sets aside his complex prosimetrum and takes up prose hagiography of Edward.

Looking closely at the classicizing verse has much to tell us about eleventh-century polyglot literary culture. Within the classicizing verse, the Anonymous self-consciously brings multiple interpretative frameworks to bear on the events of Edward's reign as he uses stories and modes of understanding from Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Ovid. *The Metamorphoses*, for example, were not just a set of stories for the Anonymous. Shape-shifting is a way of understanding which he uses in trying to express how Harold and Tostig transformed themselves from heroes into monsters and thus turned 1065–66 into a long year of horror.⁴⁶ The Anonymous's use of Ovid places him on the cutting edge of a revolution in Latin poetry, which saw it engage with secular life, love, and women. This Ovidian poetics flowers fully in the twelfth century when it nourishes the beginnings of French vernacular poetry. The key figures in this revolution are a group of poets often called the 'Loire School' — Marbod of Rennes (c. 1035–1123), Baudri of Bourgueil (1045/46–1130), and Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1134).⁴⁷ Poetic anthologies attest that the poetry of Marbod and Hildebert was popular in England into the thirteenth century.

⁴⁴ *VE*, I. 4, pp. 40–41. 'He was revered by all Englishmen as a father.' All translations are from Barlow's edition. See also Henry Summerson, 'Tudor Antiquaries and the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *ASE*, 38 (2009), 157–84, and Keynes and Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 213–18.

⁴⁵ Compare line 6 of the poem in *VE*, I. 1, p. 20 to Virgil's *Aeneid*, II. 49 and I. 17 to *Aeneid*, II. 475. My discussion of the poetry of the *VE* draws on a chapter, 'The Politics of Allusion in Eleventh-Century England: Classical Poets and the *Vita Ædwardi*', in my forthcoming book *Crossing Conquests: Women and the Politics of Literature in Eleventh-Century England* (Toronto) and preliminary discussion in Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'The *Vita Ædwardi*: The Politics of Poetry at Wilton Abbey', *ANS*, 31 (2009), 135–56.

⁴⁶ *VE*, I. 2, pp. 26–28.

⁴⁷ Gerald A. Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 42–69; and Jean-Yves Tilliette, 'Troiae ab oris: Aspects de la révolution poétique de la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle', *Latomus*, 58 (1999), 405–31. Unlike the Loire poets, keen to emphasize Edith's reputation for virginity, the Anonymous avoids Ovidian erotics.

Established paradigms of literary history see the popularity of these French-Latin authors as a result of the Conquest bringing England, which 'was simply an outpost of — or perhaps a jumping-off point for — Northern French monastic culture', into Europe.⁴⁸

However, whoever wrote the *Vita* was already engaged with this school of poets. And given the date of the *Vita*, we must see him not as follower but as leader. Most of Baudri's poetry dates from the period of his abbacy of Bourgueil which began around 1080, and Hildebert was not born until 1056.⁴⁹ The *Vita* shares a fine tissue of linguistic echoes with work of the Loire poets and others writing in their circle. Thus verbal and thematic links between the *Vita Ædwardi* and the poetry of the Loire shows that the Anonymous was not writing from the outer fringes but that he was at the centre of this poetic movement — driving it in new directions, especially the writing of Latin poetry for women, which others followed, built on, responded to.

Yet the Anonymous was writing from pre-Conquest England, and although a Fleming, his work was shaped by the Latin literary culture of England. In addition to the *Encomium*, he had clearly read poetry by Wulfstan Cantor and Frithegod. The *Vita* is not simply an example of Normanization avant la lettre or a work of Saint-Bertin produced in England. It is central to our understanding of the increasing internationalism of English literary history in the eleventh century that we not allow the accident of the timing of the Battle of Hastings to obscure pre-Conquest England's participation in an emergent European Latin literary culture.⁵⁰

A key element in understanding how the *Vita* fits into English literary history involves taking women's learning seriously and recognizing the agency which this learning engendered. The nature of the *Vita* suggests that Edith's Latinity was not rudimentary. However, it is not simply Edith's Latin that is at stake here. It is important to underscore, in this connection, how different a text the *Vita* is from the *Encomium* — in its reliance on classical allusion, it is a much more sophisticated

⁴⁸ A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 11 and 63–64.

⁴⁹ Baudri of Bourgueil, *Poèmes*, ed. by Jean-Yves Tilliette, 2 vols (Paris, 1998–2002), I, pp. vii and xv.

⁵⁰ For an influential argument for the Conquest bringing England into Europe, see R. W. Southern, 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 158–80. Hollis's work on Wilton abbey (*Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 419–30) has also led her to argue for the full participation of pre-Conquest England in the literary developments (including interest in classicism) associated with the twelfth century.

work whose broad outline could be conveyed by extemporaneous exposition in the vernacular but whose real weight and meaning requires Latin learning and a very different kind of audience. If the *Vita* was intended to address Edith's precarious situation — as it explicitly claims — it had to have been written for a wider audience. Wilton — the Anglo-Saxon royal nunnery where Edith was raised and to which she returned in 1066 — is an important part of the picture.⁵¹ From the tenth century onwards, Wilton, and other Anglo-Saxon royal nunneries, drew in and educated royal and aristocratic daughters. Nunneries functioned as schools and as places to put royal daughters.⁵² The Latinity of the *Vita* suggests that this marriage policy was to have a major impact on the levels of learning seen as desirable among Anglo-Saxon elite women, even after princesses began to marry again. The kind of audience required by the *Vita* would not have sprung up overnight, just before the Conquest. Rather it emerged over decades and was fed both by the currency of the Roman story-world among the English secular elite, to which the *Encomium* attests, and to a long-established nunnery literary culture.

Stephanie Hollis has recently used two texts from the early 1080s, Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius* and his prosimetrical *Vita Edithae*, to open up the impressive learning of the women of Wilton. The nunnery's educational tradition stretched back at least to Wulfthryth, St Edith's mother, who was abducted from its school-room by King Edgar.⁵³ Edgar later sent tutors from Reims and Trier, leading French and German centres of learning, to educate his daughter.⁵⁴ Edith's tutors, alongside the foreign diplomats she received at Wilton, are an important reminder that royal nunneries were not entirely Anglophone places and that Latin was likely to have been not only a language of texts and worship, but also to have enabled communication amongst speakers of different languages.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Full argument for Wilton as the audience of the *VE* will be presented in 'Reading through the Conquest' in my *Crossing Conquests*; for preliminary discussion, see my 'Politics of Allusion' article.

⁵² *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, pp. 307–38 (emphasizing that the queens of Wilton, rather than the nuns, were most famous for their learning); and Yorke, *Nunneries*, pp. 72–186.

⁵³ Goscelin, *Vita Edithae*, c. 2, p. 41 as edited by André Wilmart, 'La Légende de S^{te} Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 56 (1938), 5–101 and 265–307. *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, p. 318.

⁵⁴ Goscelin, *Vita Edithae*, c. 7, pp. 49–51. *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, pp. 310–12.

⁵⁵ Goscelin, *Vita Edithae*, c. 10, pp. 62–63.

Although West Saxon female foundations did not function as the burial places of kings, as Ottonian nunneries did, there are indications that they, nonetheless, played a role in fostering royal saints' cults and in the cultivation of dynastic memory — a tradition within which the *Vita Ædwardi* (alongside the *Vita Edithae*) can be understood. Edward the Martyr was, for example, buried at Shaftesbury where his cult flourished, and St Edith was buried and culted at Wilton.⁵⁶ Learning and the cultivation of history-writing may have been dimensions of that memorial role, as in Germany, and knowledge of Latin may have extended beyond that needed for the liturgy.⁵⁷ Christine Fell thought it likely that Edward the Martyr's post-Conquest historiographer drew on oral and written sources from Shaftesbury.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, James Campbell's suggestion that a copy of Asser's *Life of Alfred* may have been made for Shaftesbury hints that a commemorative role was expected for the foundation Alfred made for his daughter Æthelgifu.⁵⁹ Malcolm Parkes argues for a Nunnaminster scribe for parts of the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Nunnaminster is the nunnery founded by Alfred's wife, Ealhswith, where Edward the Elder's daughter Eadburga became abbess.⁶⁰

In Æthelweard's late tenth-century translation of the Chronicle for his distant cousin Abbess Matilda of Essen (granddaughter of Edward the Elder's daughter Edith and Otto I), as in the rule of Edward's niece Beatrix over Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, we also catch glimpses of specific genealogical connections between German and English nunneries.⁶¹ In making her request to Æthelweard for information about their shared royal ancestors, Matilda stimulated the growth of secular history-writing in Latin, rather than the vernacular, in England; her request draws attention to the propensity for the intersection of international marriage

⁵⁶ Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Past and Present*, 163 (1999), 3–35 (pp. 16–17); and Yorke, *Nunneries*, pp. 151–53 and 173.

⁵⁷ Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', pp. 86–94.

⁵⁸ *Edward, King and Martyr*, ed. by Christine Fell (Leeds, 1971), pp. xvii–xx.

⁵⁹ Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II', p. 195.

⁶⁰ M. B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE*, 5 (1976), 149–71. David Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 55–139, strongly disputes the association of the manuscript with Winchester.

⁶¹ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Women and the Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of Abbess Matilda of Essen and Aethelweard', *EME*, 1 (1992), 53–68.

and nunnery culture to stimulate Europe-wide literary developments. The *Vita Edwardi*, written some fifteen years before Goscelin's work, attests that the educational tradition which Hollis argues flourished in post-Conquest Wilton was well developed earlier in the century and that it included dynastic history and secular poetry alongside religious writings.

The identities of the Wilton women offer insight into how women created intertwined literary, political, and social continuities across the Conquest. Goscelin's beloved and highly learned Eve left Wilton for a cell attached to the Angevin nunnery of Le Ronceray — whose nuns were the poetic correspondents of Marbod, Baudri, and Hildebert.⁶² In the early twelfth century, the poet Muriel, praised by Baudri, Hildebert, and Serlo of Bayeux, appears to have come from Le Ronceray to Wilton; her presence there suggests too that we should see it as a place where Francophone ladies joined in the nunnery culture of the Anglo-Saxons, perpetuating it into the twelfth century.⁶³ This poetic convent sheltered and educated Anglo-Saxon royal women across 1066. Not only was Edith there, but so too was Harold's daughter Gunnhild, who may have had expectations of becoming the community's abbess. Towards the end of the eleventh century, Edgar Ætheling's sister, Margaret, sent her daughters Edith/Matilda and Mary to Wilton. Royal women in Wilton did not stay put — rather they moved between cloister and court. The mobility of these women is important to see if we are interested in the ways in which Anglo-Saxon literary culture contributed to that of the twelfth century. Gunnhild eloped with the powerful northern magnate Count Alan the Red. Her reported ambition to rule Wilton, coupled with the excoriating letters Anselm sent her when she left behind the celibate life, suggests that she too was educated. Richard Sharpe has recently argued that her union with Alan served to legitimate his possession of her mother Edith Swanneck's lands. Edith/Matilda left to marry Henry I — a marriage which was celebrated as a uniting of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman royal families — and her sister Mary wed Eustace III of Boulogne. Edith herself moved between Wilton and Winchester, appearing both at the nunnery

⁶² Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 84–91; Gabriela Signori, 'Muriel and the Others ... or Poems as Pledges of Friendship', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Julian Haseldine (Stroud, 1999), pp. 199–212; and *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, p. 229.

⁶³ J. S. P. Tatlock, 'Muriel, the Earliest English Poetess', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 48 (1933), 317–21, and Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', pp. 95–100; Signori dissents, 'Muriel and the Others'.

and in court; she continued to do so after 1066, when she was protected by the Conqueror as a visible sign of his legitimacy.⁶⁴

The identities of the Anglo-Saxon royal women who did not seek refuge in nunneries at the Conquest also reveal extensive multilingualism and its potential impact on literary culture.⁶⁵ Beginning with remnants of the West Saxon line, we see that although the women of the Ætheling's family would eventually return to the nunneries of Wessex, they initially fled with their brother and mother, Agatha, to Scotland. Agatha was the Hungarian-born widow of Edward the Exile. Her impressive ancestry — she was a kinswoman of either the Ottonian emperor Henry II or the Salian emperor Henry III — was celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. She and her children, who had lived in the Confessor's court, may have spoken English, French, German, and Hungarian. Her daughter Margaret also had Latin, likely a consequence of time spent in an Anglo-Saxon royal nunnery, most obviously Wilton.⁶⁶ Her other daughter Christina is found as a nun at the royal foundation of Romsey after the Conquest.⁶⁷ Margaret's marriage to King Malcolm brought her education and internationalism into the heart of the Scottish court.⁶⁸ This Gaelic-speaking court was itself a meeting point of languages: Malcolm, who had spent time as a youth in Northumbria and in the court of Edward the Confessor, spoke English; his mother, moreover, was of the family of Earl Siward of Northumbria. He also had connections northwards: his first wife, Ingebjorg, and

⁶⁴ S. *Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, Letters 168 and 169, ed. by F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1946–61), IV, 42–50. Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 274–79, and 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen', pp. 15–19; Yorke, *Nunneries*, pp. 72, 89–91, and 157–60; *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, pp. 318–27; and Richard Sharpe. 'King Harold's Daughter', *Haskins Society Journal*, 19 (2007), 1–27. Sharpe's recent discussion of Gunnhild challenges the traditional view that she left Wilton shortly before Alan Rufus's death in 1093 and then quickly transferred her affections to his brother Alan Niger. Sharpe, tracing her possible descendants, argues that she was born as early as 1052 and that she left Wilton with Alan Rufus by 1072.

⁶⁵ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–), VI: *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (1996), s.a. 1067 (pp. 81–83). See Stafford's illuminating discussion of this entry, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women'.

⁶⁶ Barlow, *Edward*, pp. 163–64; Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling', pp. 199–200; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 14 and 131; and *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, pp. 333–34.

⁶⁷ Yorke, *Nunneries*, p. 90.

⁶⁸ Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 136; and *Writing the Wilton Women*, ed. by Hollis, pp. 333–34.

the mother of his older sons, was either the wife or widow of the Norse-speaking Earl of Orkney.⁶⁹

The *Life of Saint Margaret*, written by the Durham monk Turgot for her daughter Edith/Matilda, portrays her as a civilizing influence in this court on the edge of Europe. Her Latin literacy endowed her with an extraordinary authority. Turgot records that she not only fostered Church reform but presided over a synod, that she not only welcomed scholars to court, but participated in their debates, and that she took a direct role in the education of her children.⁷⁰ Though not a patron of secular letters, she too was remembered by the poets of the Loire, in poems for her daughter Edith/Matilda.⁷¹

Women from the house of Godwin — Harold's widow, mother, sister, and niece — also fled from the Conqueror. Ealdgyth, the daughter of Earl Ælfgar, widow of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn, king of Wales, and mother of his daughter Nest, was in quick succession wife and widow of Harold, disappearing from the historical record after 1066, although there are claims that she bore Harold a son.⁷² This woman, and her multiple relationships across the Welsh-English border, provides a context within which to situate the concern for Trojan origins which marks the *Vita Ædwardi*. We have already seen that the text figures Godwin as a Greek bearing gifts. The Anonymous also uses allusion to Aeneas's foundation of Rome ironically to underscore that Edward's death will mark the end of the oldest ruling dynasty in Europe.⁷³ Later, at the beginning of book two, as he celebrates Harold and Tostig's defeat of Gruffudd, the Anonymous alludes to the *Aeneid* to make fun

⁶⁹ I am grateful to Thomas Clancy and Matthew Townend for answering questions about the languages involved in Malcolm's court.

⁷⁰ Turgot, 'Vita Sanctae Margaretae', cc. I. 9, II. 10, and II. 13–16, in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, ed. by Jean Bolland and others (Antwerp, 1658), vol. II for June, 10 June, pp. 329–31. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 10 and 13; Rebecca Rushforth, 'The Bury Psalter and the Descendents of Edward the Exile', *ASE*, 34 (2005), 255–61 (p. 257) and G. W. S. Barrow, 'Malcolm III', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17859>> [accessed 6 January 2010].

⁷¹ Hildebert of Lavardin, *Carmina minora*, No. 35, ed. by A. Brian Scott, 2nd edn (Munich, 2001), pp. 21–22. Elisabeth van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066–1135: The *Carmen de Hastings Proelio*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), 39–62 (p. 51); and Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 136.

⁷² K. L. Maund, 'The Welsh Alliances of Earl Ælfgar of Mercia and his Family in the Mid-Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 11 (1989), 181–90.

⁷³ My 'Politics of Allusion'.

of Welsh claims to Trojan origins.⁷⁴ Perhaps the likely presence of Ealdgyth in her new husband's court provides the occasion for this humour. In any case, at the end of Edward's reign and at the beginning of the new Godwinson dynasty, questions surrounding the antiquity and legitimacy of dynasties were likely to have been pressing. I would suggest that competing origin legends were more likely Edith's concern than the Anonymous's. What we most definitely do not see here is a cleric handing Trojan models to a secular aristocrat, but rather the Roman story-world being deployed to negotiate secular identities using language and models current across Europe.

Meanwhile, the flight to the Continent of Harold and Edith's closest female relatives reveals continued ties between England and Scandinavia as well as Flanders. Edith's Danish mother Gytha went first to the Flemish town of Saint-Omer where the Godwins had long-standing connections and from whence the anonymous author of Edith's *Vita Ædwardi* came; this is not, I think, a coincidence and underscores further the Queen's agency in commissioning this work. Gytha continued on to the Danish court of her nephew King Swein Estrithson. Her life thus extends from the Danish to the Norman Conquest and beyond, with post-conquest Danish claims to the English throne stemming from her, just as Norman claims stemmed from Emma. Her view of England would eventually find an outlet in the writing of a famous eleventh-century historian, when Swein Estrithson became Adam of Bremen's informant about eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England. The women who fled with Gytha neatly demonstrate the elite aristocracy's participation in a world where daughters were raised either for the religious life or for dynastic marriage. She was accompanied to Flanders and Denmark by her daughter Gunnhild, who was dedicated to the religious life from childhood and who died later in Bruges, the location of the Flemish royal court. We can only speculate that she too had been educated, like her sister Edith, at Wilton or another royal nunnery. In this connection, it is relevant to note that she left a psalter glossed in Old English to Saint Donatian's in Bruges. Meanwhile, Harold's daughter Gytha, who went on to marry Vladimir, prince of Smolensk and (later) of Kiev, also left England with her grandmother and namesake. Tostig's wife Judith, who fled to Flanders with her husband after his banishment in 1065,

⁷⁴ See my 'Trojans in Anglo-Saxon England: Precedent without Descent', in *Troy and the European Imagination*, ed. by Elizabeth Archibald and James Clark (Cambridge, forthcoming). For the Trojan allusions, compare line 30 of the prologue to Book II of *VE* (p. 86) to Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV. 366–67 and lines 43–44 to *Aeneid*, I. 475. Mike Davies, 'Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, King of Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 21 (2002), 206–48 (pp. 243–47).

appears to have stayed there initially, later going to Denmark and finally marrying Welf IV, duke of Bavaria. The influence of the Anglo-Saxon gospel books made for her on Bavarian manuscript illumination is visible testimony to the cultural impact of the flight of royal women from Conquest England.⁷⁵

IV

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle represents Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, as arriving in England just as the women of the Godwin family and of the West Saxon dynasty fled.⁷⁶ Her arrival was not wholly a rupture. Both familial and cultural ties link Matilda to the royal women of Anglo-Saxon England. Related through marriage to the Godwins (via Tostig and Judith) and the West Saxon dynasty, she became the godmother of Margaret's daughter Edith/Matilda, born in 1080.⁷⁷ Literary culture also united these two groups of women. Although Matilda was not herself a patron of poets or history-writers (it would be another twenty years before Norman and French queens and princesses catch up with the patronage of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors), when she arrived in England in 1067 she was accompanied by Guy of Amiens, or so Orderic claims. Guy had already by this date composed the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* — a triumphalist and classicizing account of William's victory which Orderic considered to have been modelled on Virgil and Statius.⁷⁸

Matilda is an example of how the Flemish comital family began to attend to the education of its daughters over the course of the eleventh century; the education of elite women comes to be one of the unifying elements in the emergence of a

⁷⁵ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, ed. by Schmeidler, I. 48 (p. 48), I. 61 (p. 59), III. 54 (pp. 198–99). Barlow, *Godwins*, pp. 119–21; Philip Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th series, 23 (1941), 71–112 (pp. 109–11); and Ann Williams, 'Godwine', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54458>> [accessed 6 February 2008]. Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospel Books of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-Up and Function', *ASE*, 24 (1994), 251–308.

⁷⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by Dumville and Keynes, s.a. 1067, pp. 81–83; and Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women'.

⁷⁷ Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 10.

⁷⁸ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by Majorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1968–80), II, 184–86, 214, and 224.

European courtly culture in the High Middle Ages.⁷⁹ Well educated herself, she ensured, in a move unprecedented in Normandy, that her daughters, both lay and religious, were too. She probably introduced Arnulf of Chocques, a Flemish-born scholar who had studied under Lanfranc at Caen, to the ducal court, where he taught Cecelia before she became a nun and then abbess at Holy Trinity, Caen (the convent her mother founded). It is likely that Adela, later Countess of Blois, mother of King Stephen and nun at Marcigny, was also educated by Arnulf.⁸⁰

Both daughters attained high levels of literacy and were the recipients or subjects of classicizing poetry written by Baudri and Hildebert, among others.⁸¹ Cecelia, for example, was addressed by Baudri as the 'regia virgo' of 'pater augustus'.⁸² Adela was a well-known literary patron of both history and poetry; here there is just time to consider the long poem written for her by Baudri. The poet recounts a vision of Adela's bedroom: on the walls hang tapestries which depict episodes from the Old Testament, Greek mythology, and recent history, specifically Adela's father's conquest of England. Baudri's poem requires an audience familiar with, or acquiring familiarity with, the story-world of Greek myth, which is deployed both explicitly and allusively. Mary Carruthers's argument that Adela commissioned the poem for the education of her children, a task in which she took a direct hand, emphasizes again the important role women played across the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the transmission of classical learning. The figure of a learned woman who married, educated children, supported scholars and poets, and retired to a convent is a familiar one which we saw come into focus over a generation earlier when Edith pushed her anonymous poet to do some of what Baudri would do for Adela.⁸³

⁷⁹ Büttner, 'Education of Queens in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries'; Kimberly LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067–1137)* (Dublin, 2007), p. 30; and van Houts, 'Contrasts and Interactions', p. 7. I am grateful to Elisabeth van Houts for discussing Cecilia's education with me.

⁸⁰ LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 31; and Raymonde Foreville, 'L'École de Caen au XI^e siècle et les origines normandes de l'université d'Oxford', in *Études médiévales offertes à M. le Doyen Augustin Fliche* (Paris, 1952), pp. 81–100 (pp. 84–86).

⁸¹ Bond, *The Loving Subject*, pp. 147–57; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 31–34; van Houts, 'Latin Poetry', pp. 46–50.

⁸² Baudri, *Poèmes*, ed. by Tilliette, no. 136 (lines 1 and 4), II, 45.

⁸³ Baudri, *Poèmes*, ed. by Tilliette, no. 134, II, 2–43. Bond, *The Loving Subject*, pp. 149–50; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 213–20; and LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 197–204. Bond makes a strong claim for Adela as the first woman to use the patronage of poetry for political ends, p. 156.

I will conclude with Edith/Matilda, the woman who literally brings the educational traditions of the Anglo-Saxon royal nunneries into the Anglo-Norman court. Like her mother Margaret, Edith/Matilda — born in Scotland, educated at Romsey and Wilton, goddaughter of Matilda of Flanders and Robert Curthose, and wife of Henry I — also needed to command a range of languages, including English, French, Latin, and possibly also Gaelic. Her literary patronage at the court of her husband is well known, so I will not rehearse it here, except insofar as it reveals how her multilingualism and her education equipped her to bridge the literary culture of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England.⁸⁴ Like Edith, this Wilton woman is linked with the poets of the Loire: Hildebert and Marbod wrote for and/or of her.⁸⁵ Anselm's letters to her, furthermore, reveal his great respect for her learning and intellect.⁸⁶ In a prefatory letter to her daughter, the Empress Matilda, William of Malmesbury claims that Edith/Matilda instigated his *Gesta regum Anglorum* by asking for more information about her Anglo-Saxon ancestry: like the *Encomium* and the *Vita Ædwardi*, this is a text which arises directly from a royal woman's need to know, keep, and use history.⁸⁷ In writing history for a woman which draws on models offered by classical writers, William reveals himself to be as much the beneficiary of the literary culture which produced the *Encomium* and the *Vita Ædwardi* (the latter of which he certainly read) as he was of the new learning of the twelfth century, usually understood as brought to England as a result of the Conquest.⁸⁸ If Edith/Matilda was the patron of the Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St Brendan*, we can see too how the royal women of Anglo-Saxon England nourished not only Latin writing across the Conquest, but also the beginning of French written literary culture. If it was her successor, Adeliza of Louvain, we can see Henry I's second wife transposing Edith/Matilda's model of literary patronage from Latin into the vernacular.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ See most recently Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 125–43.

⁸⁵ Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry', pp. 50–51.

⁸⁶ There are numerous letters, including those from Edith/Mathilda to Anselm, in *S. Anselmi*, ed. by Schmitt, vols IV and V.

⁸⁷ *GR*, I, 8; and Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 31.

⁸⁸ *GR*, II, 466; Southern, 'The Place of England', pp. 160–62; and Rodney Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'* (Walkern, Hertfordshire, 2006), pp. 1 and 7–10.

⁸⁹ See most recently Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 139–43 and my 'From Old English to Old French', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. by Wogan-Browne and others, pp. 164–78. For Adeliza, see now Thomas O'Donnell, Matthew Townend, and Elizabeth Tyler,

The tenth- and eleventh-century English practice of placing royal women in nunneries nurtured the emergence of an extended family of educated women. The integration of these women into the Anglo-Norman royal family allowed the courtly culture of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England to exert a crucial impact on the way in which a thriving literary culture developed in twelfth-century western Europe as a whole. All of this is hidden from us if we imagine pre-Conquest England as a monoglot island on the outer fringes of Europe.

'The Long Eleventh Century', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Clare Lees (Cambridge, forthcoming).

CNUT'S POETS: AN OLD NORSE LITERARY COMMUNITY IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Matthew Townend

In an article published in 2001, I explored the extant body of Old Norse skaldic poetry in honour of Cnut, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and argued that this body of poetry was most probably composed and recited in England rather than Scandinavia, and within England most probably in Winchester.¹ My conclusions were threefold: first, that during his reign Cnut's court in England became the most vibrant centre for skaldic poetry anywhere in the Norse-speaking world; second, that the poems for Cnut, mostly by named authors, are able to be unusually well contextualized, in terms of date and location of performance; and third, that these Old Norse poems from Cnut's court deserve to be considered as part of Anglo-Saxon England's literary history just as much as do Old English or Latin works from the period.

In this paper I wish to return to the subject of Cnut's poetry, and Cnut's poets, but this time within the present context of medieval multilingualism — in particular, in terms of the coexistence and interaction of Old Norse, Old English, and Latin in late Viking Age England. First, I shall offer a brief overview of the Old Norse literary community at Cnut's court. Second, I shall discuss the repertoire and interconnections of the poetic corpus that may have circulated at the court. And third, I shall explore whether Cnut's poets presented a distinctive 'vision of history'.

¹ Matthew Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: Skaldic Praise-Poetry at the Court of Cnut', *ASE*, 30 (2001), 145–79.

The Old Norse Literary Community at Cnut's Court

Winchester in the early eleventh century was a multilingual city. Old English and Latin were spoken, written, and read within its walls, not least in its royal palace and three royally endowed monasteries. With the accession of Cnut in 1017, the addition of an elite population of Old Norse speakers was a further important ingredient in this linguistic mix.² A monument that is eloquent of the multilingual nature of Cnut's Winchester is the Old Minster grave-marker that bears the inscription HERLIÐ G[VN]N[I:] EORLES FEOLAGA (Here lies Gunni, the earl's companion).³ Although it is written in the Roman alphabet, in the Old English language, this simple, five-word inscription shows one loanword from Old Norse (FEOLAGA, from *félagi*), one semantic loan (EORL, from *jarl*), and one Old Norse personal name (GUNNI); there may also be Latin influence on the opening phrase HERLIÐ (from *hic iacet* or *hic requiescit*).⁴ Cnut's Winchester was a thoroughly trilingual city.

The later Icelandic *Skáldatal* or 'List of Poets' names eight Norse poets who composed for Cnut: Sigvatr Þórðarson, Óttarr svarti, Þórarinn loftunga, Hallvarðr Háreksblei, Bersi Torfuson, Steinn Skaptason, Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld, and Óðarkepr.⁵ We have extant poetry in honour of Cnut by five of these poets (Sigvatr, Óttarr, Þórarinn, Hallvarðr, and Arnórr), and to be added to this corpus are the anonymous *Liðsmannaflokkur* and a further anonymous fragment preserved in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*.

In what ways, though, did skaldic poets participate in court culture? How did they spend their days? What were their duties beyond those of poetic composition and performance? Awareness of such questions is important, but there is not the scope here to attempt to answer them. Our sources for the possible nature of skalds' courtly service to kings are of three kinds, but the three do not easily overlap

² See Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*', pp. 169–75.

³ Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 126–27 (no. 138); see also Dominic Tweddle, Martin Biddle, and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. IV: *South-East England* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 278–80 (Winchester Old Minster no. 6).

⁴ I also discuss the Old Minster grave-marker in 'Contacts and Conflicts: Latin, Norse, and French', in *The Oxford History of English*, ed. by Lynda Mugglestone (Oxford, 2006), pp. 61–85 (pp. 76–77).

⁵ *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. by Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Jón Sigurðsson, and Finnur Jónsson, 3 vols in 4 (Copenhagen, 1848–87), III, 282–83.

or intersect. First, we have the considerable evidence, for example from charters and wills, of the constitution, offices, and officers of the royal court in late Anglo-Saxon England, generously supplemented and nuanced by the much fuller records of Carolingian court culture.⁶ Second, we have the information contained within certain poems about the nature of skalds' service to kings, such as stanzas 18–19 of Þórbjörn hornklofi's *Haraldskvæði* or *Hrafnsmál*,⁷ or Sigvatr's account of his visit to Cnut's court in his *Vestrfararvísur*.⁸ And third, we have interwoven among the Old Norse kings' sagas a very great body of stories and anecdotes about the services, poetic and otherwise, which skalds rendered to kings. The challenge in coordinating such disparate sources is that no Anglo-Saxon record mentions a Norse poet, while the Scandinavian accounts, so rich in narrative information both about the career of the court skald in general and the detailed careers of many skalds in particular, are generally of a thirteenth-century date. Nonetheless, it would be an extremely interesting project to combine these three separate but complementary types of source (English documents, skaldic poems, and Norse sagas), and it might well be that a compelling and largely self-consistent picture would emerge.

The composition and performance of court poetry serves the interests of at least three parties: the patron him- or herself, the wider courtly audience as an in-group to whom and for whom the poet speaks, and last but not least the poet himself as he builds his career. In thinking about Cnut's poets as an Old Norse literary community in England, I shall pay some attention to all three of these parties, but in thinking initially about the second group — the courtly audience — the obvious place to begin, especially in this context, is with language.

The point about the language in which skaldic culture expressed itself at Cnut's court in England is not simply that it was Old Norse. Certainly, this will have been a mark of distinction, but speakers of Old Norse and Old English were probably

⁶ Landmarks in the study of this subject are Laurence Marcellus Larson, *The King's Household in England Before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, 1904) and Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready': A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980). For wider European perspectives, see *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003).

⁷ For text see *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, 4 vols (Copenhagen, 1912–15), IB, 24–25. Unless otherwise indicated, in this paper all skaldic poetry is quoted from Finnur Jónsson's *Skjaldedigtning*, currently the standard edition; however, for a number of poems I have used provisional, draft versions of my own editions, undertaken for the multivolume *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages: A New Edition* (Turnhout, forthcoming), which will no doubt offer many revised readings and stanza reorderings for other poems as well.

⁸ For the text, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 203–06.

to a significant extent mutually intelligible,⁹ and Cnut's pragmatic and strategic adoption of the mechanisms of written government in England (which used Old English and Latin) indicates that in the sphere of linguistic politics there was no simple binary opposition between English and Norse. However, Old Norse literary culture at Cnut's court expressed itself not only (self-evidently) in Old Norse, but in the distinctive and demanding form of skaldic poetry. It is true that, like many forms of court poetry, skaldic poetry did not necessarily have to be perfectly comprehensible to its patron and audience in order for it to fulfil its social function of praise.¹⁰ It is also true that some of the verse in honour of Cnut is, by skaldic standards, relatively straightforward and unornate (for example, the work of Óttarr and Þórarinn); but it is by no means universally the case that poetry for Cnut is simple in form, and there is certainly some poetry in his honour that is more than usually ornate and demanding (for example, the work of Hallvarðr). It is worth recalling that the name of the basic skaldic metre is *dróttkvætt* or 'court-metre' — that is, poetry composed for, or by, or about, the *drótt* or court retinue.¹¹ John Lindow has argued that skaldic poetry may precisely have come into being as a mark of distinction, a form of literary and linguistic distancing to separate the cognoscenti of the *drótt* from uncomprehending outsiders.¹² In this view, skaldic poetry is both a secret language and a differentiating mode of display — a familiar phenomenon, of course, in many court cultures.¹³ It is not necessary to subscribe to the full force of Lindow's theory in order to appreciate the validity, and value, of his insight: poetry and other forms of art are likely to have played an important role in articulating, creating, and reinforcing social and cultural solidarity.

Cnut's skalds, then, not only celebrated their patron, and spoke to his followers, in the language of Old Norse, they did so in the discriminating idiom of *dróttkvætt* and its associated forms. And what they had to say was similarly directed towards

⁹ See Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout, 2002).

¹⁰ See Matthew Townend, 'Norse Poets and English Kings: Skaldic Performance in Anglo-Saxon England', *Offa*, 58 (2001), 269–75.

¹¹ On the *drótt*, see John Lindow, *Comitatus, Individual and Honor: Studies in North Germanic Institutional Vocabulary* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 26–41, esp. pp. 30–31.

¹² John Lindow, 'Riddles, Kennings, and the Complexity of Skaldic Poetry', *Scandinavian Studies*, 47 (1975), 311–27. See also Joseph Harris, 'Obscure Styles (Old English and Old Norse) and the Enigma of *Gísla saga*', *Mediaevalia*, 19 (1996), 75–100.

¹³ See Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1983), esp. pp. 78–116.

a particular in-group, those who had ears to hear. Roberta Frank has observed how, in their emphasis on protection and generosity specifically towards Danes, Cnut's poets appear to be targeting a distinctively Norse-speaking audience, one particular group among those to be found at Cnut's court.¹⁴ Frank draws attention to stanza 7 of Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa* (stanza 5 according to Frank's numbering), which declares that *orðbrjótr Dqnum forðar | moldreks* ('the breaker of the speech of the soil-ruler [GIANT > GOLD > GENEROUS RULER] protects Danes').¹⁵ Hallvarðr's verb *forða* 'to protect' has a wide reference, but its use alongside kennings for 'gold' and 'generous ruler' indicates that the protection imagined is one that is primarily expressed through the metonymic kingly gesture of treasure giving. A further witness to this notion is Arnórr's sole half-stanza in honour of Cnut, which states:

Bekks lá eldr ok axla
 ulfliðs Dqnum miðli;
 ek sá armhrauð þakka
 eitt Skónunga hqnum.¹⁶

In these two verses we can see a shared theme of royal generosity towards Danes as a distinctive group among Cnut's followers, expressed not only in the language of Old Norse, but in the complex cultural idiom of skaldic verse.¹⁷ These statements of provision and safety are pointedly exclusive in terms of content, form, and language: one particular court community is being celebrated and addressed.

The Poetic Repertoire at Cnut's Court

We can get closer to the community of poets themselves by thinking about the degree to which they may have known each others' work, and indeed the work of other, earlier poets. Skaldic poetry in this period was an oral art-form, though one in which compositions were more memorized than extemporized, more fixed-text than fluid-text: poems were composed and recited orally, and then through

¹⁴ Roberta Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 106–24 (p. 109).

¹⁵ Text and translation for Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa* are taken from my draft edition for *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*.

¹⁶ Text and translation from Diana Whaley, *The Poetry of Arnórr jarlaskáld: An Edition and Study* (Turnhout, 1998), p. 134 ('Fire of the stream was set between the wrist and shoulders of the Danes; I saw men of Skáney thank him for an arm-ring').

¹⁷ Arnórr's 'men of Skáney' is probably a poetic synonym for 'Danes' in general, rather than indicating a particular subgroup.

memorization passed into a circulating corpus of poems. In the dissemination and maintenance of this corpus it seems that the primary ‘tradition-bearers’ were the poets themselves, who learned — and learned from — each others’ works.¹⁸ In theory, then, a study of the echoes, shared formulae, and other intertextual links that a poet’s work evinces can tell us what other poems he knew, or had known, and had cached in his word-hoard; while a study of a whole poetic community, such as that at Cnut’s court, can in theory tell us about the body of verse in circulation in that milieu, and thus enable us to excavate a particular literary environment: a sort of oral version of attempts to recapture an individual’s or a community’s reading or library.¹⁹ There have been few recent attempts to explore the intertextual and interpersonal significance of *Parallelstellen* in skaldic poetry, and certainly no systematic investigations such as there have been for Anglo-Saxon literary culture;²⁰ but the potential for such an approach seems very considerable indeed. As we will see, it is the combination of the precision of the verbal echoes and the well-developed cult of individual skalds that makes it likely that we are indeed dealing with personal indebtednesses and not simply coincidental resemblances generated out of a communal repertoire of formulae (as is more plausibly the case for the alternative tradition of Eddic poetry in Old Norse).

No exhaustive survey will be attempted here for the *Knútsdrápur*, but a few patterns will be observed, and Hallvarðr Háreksblei’s poem will be explored as a test case. Hallvarðr’s *Knútsdrápa* is a good poem to look at, as it dates probably from 1029 and thus comes late in the sequence of poems for Cnut, subsequent to

¹⁸ See Matthew Townend, ‘Whatever Happened to York Viking Poetry? Memory, Tradition and the Transmission of Skaldic Verse’, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 27 (2003), 48–90 (pp. 62–68).

¹⁹ See for example Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006).

²⁰ Among recent scholars see especially the ongoing work of Andy Orchard, for example *The Poetic Art of Alðhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. pp. 126–238, and ‘Old Sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface’, *ASE*, 30 (2001), 15–38. In terms of skaldic studies, see Jan de Vries, ‘Über Arnórr Jarlaskáld’, *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 67 (1952), 156–75, for an analysis of the work of one particular poet, Arnórr Þórðarson (one of Cnut’s poets, in fact, probably in the early 1030s: see Whaley, *The Poetry of Arnórr jarlaskáld*, p. 43). See also Russell Poole, ‘Some Examples of the Adverbial Genitive in Skaldic Poetry’, *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 14 (2004), 115–31, who suggests that we can observe a group of (mostly) late tenth-century pagan poets learning from and copying one another in their use of the adverbial genitive, and Jonathan Grove, ‘Recreating Tradition: Sigvatr Þórðarson’s *Víkingarvísur* and Óttarr svarti’s *Höfuðlausn*’, in *Á Austrvega: Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of the 14th International Saga Conference, Uppsala, 9th–15th August 2009*, ed. by Agneta Ney, Henrik Williams, and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, 2 vols (Gävle, 2009), I, 327–35.

those of Óttarr, Sigvatr, and Þórarinn.²¹ Partly, one suspects, on account of coming late in this sequence, Hallvarðr's goal in his poem seems to be somewhat different from those of his earlier colleagues. As far as we can judge from their extant stanzas, Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa* gives a detailed account of Cnut's English wars of 1015–16, Sigvatr's *Knútsdrápa* an account of his Holy River campaign of 1026, and Þórarinn's *Tøgdrápa* of his conquest of Norway in 1028. Coming after these three great events, and their three detailed commemorations, Hallvarðr offers instead an overview of Cnut's international empire, alluding in passing to his earliest triumph (England) through to his latest (Norway), but eschewing the specificity of the earlier poets in favour of an emphasis on Cnut's more global — indeed, more cosmic — position, as is expressed in his *stef* or refrain:

Knútr verr jörð sem ítran
alls dróttinn sal fjalla.²²

As has been discussed by Frank, this refrain is the most obvious of Hallvarðr's redeployments, as a number of earlier refrains similarly depict Cnut 'in cosmic high relief'.²³ The refrain of Sigvatr's *Knútsdrápa* views Cnut's position *und himnum* 'under the heavens', while that of Þórarinn's *Tøgdrápa*, though incomplete, is similar (*und sólar* 'under the sun's').²⁴ The most obvious model, though, is the *stef* of Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn*:

Knútr verr grund sem gætir
Gríklands himinríki.²⁵

Sigvatr's and Þórarinn's poems place this wider vision within the detailed context of particular campaigns; Hallvarðr, however, remains at the perspective of an overview throughout his poem.

Though not seen in his refrain, Hallvarðr's debt to Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa* is very clear in terms of shared diction.²⁶ Both describe Cnut's ships as *harðbrynjuð* 'hard-armoured', in identical phrasing and line position (Óttarr 1. 6, Hallvarðr 3. 4), a

²¹ On dating these poems, see Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*', pp. 149–62.

²² 'Cnut defends the earth as the lord of all [=God] (defends) the splendid hall of the mountains [HEAVEN].'

²³ Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', p. 116.

²⁴ For texts, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 232–34 and 298–99.

²⁵ 'Cnut defends the land as the guardian of Greece [GOD] (defends) the heavenly kingdom.' Text and translation for Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn* are taken from my draft edition for *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*.

²⁶ Text and translation for Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa* and *Höfuðlausn* are taken from my draft editions for *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*.

compound that occurs nowhere else in extant skaldic verse.²⁷ Similarly, both characterize Cnut as *Sveins mǫgr* ‘son of Sveinn’, again in identical line position (Óttarr 6. 8, Hallvarðr 1. 4). A further possible link with Óttarr’s poetry can be found in Hallvarðr’s claim in stanza 6 that Cnut has *þrungit und sik* (‘subdued/thrust under himself’) Norway. Óttarr uses the same construction, *þryngva und sik*, in stanza 20 of his earlier *Hofuðlausn* for Cnut’s enemy, Óláfr Haraldsson;²⁸ there, the allusion is to Óláfr’s subjection of the Northern Isles. Timothy Bolton has suggested that the phrase may have a sexual reference, alluding to the old pagan idea of the king’s marriage to the land, and this is not impossible.²⁹ The locution is not restricted to Óttarr and Hallvarðr, however: among earlier poets it is used by Þórbjörn hornklofi (in *Glymdrápa* 6), and among later poets by Arnórr Þórðarson (in *Magnúsdrápa* 7)³⁰ — who, as one of Cnut’s poets, may of course have learned the phrase from the works of Óttarr and Hallvarðr.

A clear echo also links Hallvarðr’s *Knútsdrápa* to Þórðr Kolbeinsson’s *Eiríksdrápa*.³¹ The very first line of Hallvarðr’s poem, *súðlǫngum kom Sveiða*, echoes *súðlǫngum frá Sveiða* in the opening stanza of Þórðr’s poem (line 5). Both *súðlangr* ‘long-planked’, the adjective to describe the ships, and *Sveiði*, the name of the sea-king used in a sea-kenning, are unrecorded in skaldic poetry outside of these two occurrences (Þórðr’s sea-kenning is *Sveiða vangr* ‘Sveiði’s plain’, while Hallvarðr’s is, probably, *Sveiða trøð* ‘Sveiði’s path’). Þórðr’s *Eiríksdrápa* is a poem in honour of Cnut’s Norwegian earl, Eiríkr Hákonarson, and was probably composed in England sometime between 1016 and 1023.³²

So far I have confined myself to Hallvarðr’s knowledge of other poems for Cnut, or poems within Cnut’s circle, but there are also parallels with other, non-Cnutian verse. Compare, for example, Ólvir hnúfa’s two extant lines on Þórr’s fight with the Miðgarðsormr (Midgard serpent) with Hallvarðr’s stanza 2. Ólvir’s ninth-century lines are as follows:

²⁷ See further Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 157–58.

²⁸ For texts, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 268–72 (p. 272).

²⁹ Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 264–69; see however John McKinnell, *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 155.

³⁰ For texts, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 20–21 (p. 21) and 311–15 (p. 313).

³¹ For text, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 203–06.

³² See Russell Poole, ‘Skaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History: Some Aspects of the Period 1009–16’, *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 265–98 (pp. 270–71).

CEstisk allra landa
umbgjörð ok sonr Jarðar.³³

Hallvarðr's stanza 2 has clear similarities:

Vestr lézt í haf, hristir,
harðviggs, sikulgiarðar,
umbands allra landa,
íss, framstafni vísat.³⁴

The verbal parallels here are the element *-gjörð* 'girdle, belt' and the locution *um(b) ... allra landa*, though there is uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the kennings involving the latter, where it appears that a locution for the Midgard serpent has been extended to represent the ocean in which he resides.³⁵ Hallvarðr's echo of Ólvir may stand as an example, then, of the way in which older poems continued to circulate in the skaldic community of Cnut's court. Similarly, there are enough correspondences to suggest that Hallvarðr may have been familiar with Einarr Helgason skálaglamm's *Vellekla*, composed in the late tenth century for Earl Hákon Sigurðarsonar of Hlaðir:³⁶ verbal parallels include *holmfjöturr* 'island-fetter' (*Vellekla* 26. 5, *Knútsdrápa* 5. 2), *hjaldrqrr* 'battle-eager' (*Vellekla* 34. 2, *Knútsdrápa* 6. 7), and *mæringr* 'prince' (*Vellekla* 4. 4 reads *mæringr an þú fera*, *Knútsdrápa* 7. 4 *mæringr an þú nærri*).

One of Hallvarðr's most striking assertions comes in the main clause of stanza 7:

Esat und jarðar hqslu —
orðbrjótr Dqnum forðar
moldreks — munka valdi
mæringr an þú nærri.³⁷

³³ Text from *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 6 ('The belt of all lands [=Midgarðsormr] and the son of Jörð [=Þórr] became furious').

³⁴ 'Shaker of the ice of the sword-belt [SWORD > WARRIOR], you caused the fore-stem of the hard horse of the encircling band of all lands [SEA > SHIP] to be directed west across the sea.'

³⁵ See Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden: Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn, 1921), p. 94, Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis*, 2nd edn (Copenhagen, 1931), p. 579, and Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes, 2 vols (London, 1998), II, 416.

³⁶ For text, see *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, IB, 117–24.

³⁷ 'There is not under the hazel of earth [=Yggdrasill] a prince closer to the ruler of monks [GOD] than you; the breaker of the speech of the soil-ruler [GIANT > GOLD > GENEROUS RULER] protects Danes.'

The juxtaposition of the world-tree with the Christian God is a bold stroke, typical of the flair with which Hallvarðr uses pagan idioms to celebrate Cnut as a Christian king; but it is the term for God here, *munka valdr*, which merits further attention. As Frank notes, the use of *munkr* as a determinant in skaldic verse is very rare, paralleled only by *munka reynir* ‘tester of monks’ in the anonymous *Hafgerðingadrápa* and *munka dróttinn* ‘lord of monks’ in Skapti Þóroddson’s sole extant fragment, both also kennings for the Christian God.³⁸ The date of *Hafgerðingadrápa* is much disputed,³⁹ so the credit for (apparently) the first use of *munkr* in skaldic verse probably resides with either Hallvarðr or Skapti. Although Hallvarðr’s use of the loanword *munkr* in the monastic environment of Winchester seems a careful, context-specific choice, the grounds for seeing the poetic influence as running from Skapti to Hallvarðr, rather than vice versa, are compelling, not least the fact that Skapti died in 1030, which would scarcely allow sufficient time for knowledge of Hallvarðr’s poem to have reached Iceland.⁴⁰ Skapti Þóroddsson was the lawspeaker of Iceland from 1004 to 1030, and his one extant fragment of verse is as follows:

Mátrr es munka dróttins
mestr; aflar goð flestu;
Kistr skóp ríkr ok reisti
Róms höll veröld alla.⁴¹

This is a remarkable piece of early Christian verse, composed within a generation of the conversion of Iceland in 1000; but there is nothing suspicious about this, as we know that Skapti was from an influential Christian family — his nephew, for example, was the first native bishop of Iceland. But if Skapti was busy in Iceland, performing his duties as lawspeaker, must we attribute Hallvarðr’s knowledge of

³⁸ Frank, ‘King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds’, p. 124 n. 60.

³⁹ See Jakob Benediktsson, ‘*Hafgerðingadrápa*’, in *Speculum Norroenum: Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*, ed. by Ursula Dronke and others (Odense, 1981), pp. 26–32, and Bjarne Fidjestøl, ‘Arnórr Þórðarson: Skald of the Orkney Jarls’, in his *Selected Papers*, ed. by Odd Einar Haugen and Else Mundal (Odense, 1997), pp. 93–116 (pp. 115–16).

⁴⁰ On Skapti, see chap. 8 of Ari Þorgilsson’s *Íslendingabók* (*Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson (Reykjavík, 1968), p. 19). I am grateful to Hannah Burrows for discussion on Skapti’s poetry: see further her ‘Rhyme and Reason: Lawspeaker-Poets in Medieval Iceland’, *Scandinavian Studies*, 81 (2009), 215–38 (pp. 217–19).

⁴¹ Text from *Skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, iB, 291 (‘The power of the lord of monks [GOD] is greatest. God is in charge of everything. The powerful Christ created all the world and raised up the hall of Rome’).

his verse simply to oral tradition? In fact, we can do better than this, as Skapti's son, Steinn, is recorded in *Skáldatal* as being one of Cnut's poets, even though no verse by him now survives. So we can suggest Steinn as the means by which Hallvarðr encountered Skapti's verse. Even more than this, though, an anecdote in Snorri's *Heimskringla* records how Steinn also visited the court of Óláfr Haraldsson of Norway and endeavoured to recite before him a poem about the King of his father's composition, which he had earlier memorized;⁴² so we might assume that, with his father necessarily engaged in Iceland as lawspeaker, his son made a habit of reciting his poetry at the foreign courts he visited. In some ways Hallvarðr's echo of Skapti's verse goes beyond the verbal parallel of *munkr* in a kenning for God, as there are certain similarities between the 'cosmic' perspective adopted by Skapti and by Hallvarðr in his refrain; but it is the uncommon verbal parallel which gives us a way into thinking about how Cnut's poets, as an Old Norse literary community in England, shared in and responded to the works of other poets.

In exploring the extent and significance of these skaldic *Parallelstellen* I have confined myself to Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa*, and my approach has admittedly been impressionistic rather than systematic; but similar intertextual connections could easily be traced between some of the other poems for Cnut (for example, in the innovative use of *töglag* metre by both Sigvatr and Þórarinn).⁴³ Another interesting question which one might explore is whether the diction of Cnut's poets reveals influence not just from Norse poetry but from contemporary English texts — accessed, presumably, through hearing or through talk rather than through reading.⁴⁴ If one entertains this possibility, then examples might include the parallels in sentiment and form between Óttarr's *lausavísa* 2 and Cnut's 1027 Letter,⁴⁵ and in phraseology between Sigvatr's *Knútsdrápa* stanza 2 and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1017.⁴⁶

⁴² Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols (Reykjavík, 1941–51), II, 243.

⁴³ See E. O. G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976), pp. xxxv–xxxvi, and Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Háttatal*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes (Oxford, 1991), pp. 29–30, 84–85.

⁴⁴ See Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'Talking about History in Eleventh-Century England: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *EME*, 13 (2005), 359–83.

⁴⁵ See Judith Jesch, 'Skaldic Verse, a Case of Literacy *Avant la Lettre*?', in *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavian Culture*, ed. by Pernille Hermann (Viborg, 2005), pp. 187–210 (pp. 204–05).

⁴⁶ See Dietrich Hofmann, *Nordisch-Englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit* (Copenhagen, 1955), pp. 88–90 (§§89–90).

The Vision of History among Cnut's Poets

Consideration of the possible connections between Norse poets and English sources does, however, bring us to the final question to be considered in this paper. So far we have seen that Cnut's poets spoke to a distinctive community at Cnut's court, and in a distinctive language and literary form. They were familiar with a substantial repertoire of skaldic poetry, circulating in oral form and amounting to a distinctive literary culture. Finally, then, did Cnut's poets present a distinctive vision of the past to their patron and audience? In particular, did the Norse-speaking community at Cnut's court in England preserve distinctive traditions about the Danish conquest, different from those preserved in the Latin- and English-using communities in England? Two areas will be briefly looked at here — the battle of Ashingdon and the importance of Swein Forkbeard — to suggest that there may have been a distinctive approach to the Anglo-Danish past among the community of Norse poets; but there are certainly other areas one could consider for the same purpose, such as the legendary status accorded the Anglo-Saxon king Ælla.⁴⁷

First, the presentation of the battle of Ashingdon. Fought in Essex in 1016, Ashingdon was Cnut's Hastings, the decisive battle by which he gained the throne, though unlike the battle of 1066 it came at the end of a long campaign. In William's reign Hastings was of course memorialized and reinterpreted in various ways; what about the commemoration of Ashingdon in Cnut's reign? Were different accounts presented in the different languages of late Anglo-Saxon England? To begin with the most obvious source, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's account of the battle is as follows (here quoted from MS C):

Pa se cyning geahsode þæt se here uppe wæs, þa gesomnode he fiftan siðe ealle Engla þeode 7 ferde him æthindan 7 offerde hi on Eastsexum æt þære dune þe man hæf Assandun 7 þar togædere heardlice fengon. Pa dyde Eadric caldorman swa swa he ær oftor dyde: astealde þæne fleam ærest mid Magesæton 7 aswac swa his cynehlaforde 7 ealre Angelcynnes þeode. Þær ahte Cnut siges 7 gefeht him ealle Engla þeode. Þær wearð Eadnoþ bisceop ofslagen 7 Wulfsige abbod 7 Ælfric caldorman 7 Godwine caldorman on Lindesige 7 Ulfcytel on Eastenglum 7 Æthelweard Æthelwines sunu caldormannes, 7 eal Angelcynnes duguð þar wearð fordon.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See Matthew Townend, 'Ælla: An Old English Name in Old Norse Poetry', *Nomina*, 20 (1997), 23–35, and Susanne Kries, '“Westward I came across the sea”: Anglo-Scandinavian History through Scandinavian Eyes', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 34 (2003), 47–76.

⁴⁸ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–), v: *MS. C: A Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (2001), pp. 102–03. 'When the king learnt that the army had

The Chronicle for this period should really be thought of, and read as, a text from Cnut's reign rather than from Æthelred's; it was probably written in the first few years after Cnut's accession, possibly in London.⁴⁹ In terms of provenance, this makes it a very interesting parallel to the anonymous *Liðsmannaflokkur*.⁵⁰ While it may be true that the Chronicle gives us an English perspective, not least in its use of us-and-them language, it is the perspective of an Englishman who is disillusioned and alienated from the political establishment.⁵¹ The Chronicle's account of Ashingdon makes the event seem more distant than it was at the time of writing, in its totalizing, retrospective conclusion that Cnut thereby won for himself *ealle Engla þeode* 'all the English people', and that *eal Angelcynnnes duguð* 'all the nobility of England' was there destroyed (and also that Eadric, in the climax of his career of treachery, betrayed *ealre Angelcynnnes þeode* 'all the people of England'). This clear apprehension of the movement of history and the fall of Alfred's *Angelcynn* is married to an anaphoric memorializing of the lost leaders of the people (7 *Wulfsgie abbod* 7 *Ælfric ealdorman* 7 *Godwine ealdorman* [...]), a mournful, elegiac approach also found in later commemorations of the battle.⁵²

gone inland, for the fifth time he collected all the English nation; and pursued them and overtook them in Essex at the hill which is called Ashingdon, and they stoutly joined battle there. Then Ealdorman Eadric did as he had often done before: he was the first to start the flight with the Magonsæte, and thus betrayed his liege lord and all the people of England. There Cnut had the victory and won for himself all the English people. There was Bishop Eadnoth killed, and Abbot Wulfsgie, and Ealdorman Ælfric, and Godwine, the ealdorman of Lindsey, and Ulfcetel of East Anglia, and Æthelweard, son of Ealdorman Æthelwine, and all the nobility of England was there destroyed' (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, trans. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 96).

⁴⁹ See Simon Keynes, 'The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–53, esp. pp. 229–32.

⁵⁰ For text and translation, see R. G. Poole, *Viking Poems on War and Peace: A Study in Skaldic Narrative* (Toronto, 1991), pp. 86–115; for a comparison of the two sources, see Alice Cowen, 'Writing Fire and the Sword: The Perception and Representation of Violence in Viking Age England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2004), pp. 194–219.

⁵¹ See Cecily Clark, 'The Narrative Mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* before the Conquest', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 215–35 (pp. 224–30) (reprinted in *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark*, ed. by Peter Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 3–19), and Keynes, 'The Declining Reputation of Æthelred the Unready', pp. 229–36.

⁵² See for example William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–99), I, 316–17: 'Ibi Cnuto

We can contrast this with the appearance of Ashingdon in skaldic verse, in stanza 10 of Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa*:

Skjöldungr, vannt und skildi
 skœru verk, inn sterki;
 fekk blóðtrani bráðir
 brúnar Assatúnur.
 Vátt, en valfall þótti
 verðung, jöfurr, sverði
 nær fyr norðan stóru
 nafn gnógt Danaskóga.⁵³

Although only the first half of this stanza is about Ashingdon itself,⁵⁴ the second half provides a context for it, in which Cnut's ability to effect a *valfall* 'slaughter' on his enemies is for the benefit and appreciation of his *verðung* 'retinue' — precisely those followers who might in the 1020s, at the time of the poet's composition, have become landed thegns in England and Cnut's Danish followers at court.⁵⁵ For the author of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and later writers, the fallen English are the nobility of the nation (its *duguð*, rather a poetic word), to be mourned and commemorated; for Óttarr, they are food for ravens. There is of course no dispute between sources here about 'what really happened'; rather, the contrast is in terms of what stories and interpretations of the Danish conquest were current in Cnut's England in the first decade or so following the battle, and how texts intended for a Danish audience may have presented different stories and interpretations to those for an English audience.

But nor is the contrast a simple one between winners and losers, victorious Danes and defeated English. For it is clear that Cnut cultivated and nurtured the memories of Ashingdon in a number of different ways, precisely for a number of different audiences and constituencies. On the one hand, we have the evidence of

regnum expugnauit, ibi omne decus Angliae occubuit, ibi flos patriae totus emarcuit' ('On that field Cnut destroyed a kingdom, there England's glory fell, there the whole flower of our country withered').

⁵³ 'Strong Skjöldungr, you performed a feat of battle under the shield; the blood-crane [RAVEN/EAGLE] received dark morsels at Ashingdon. King, you won by fighting a great enough name with a mighty sword nearby to the north of the Forest of Dean, and it seemed a slaughter to your retinue.'

⁵⁴ On the content and geography of the second half of the stanza, see Poole, 'Skaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History', pp. 275–76.

⁵⁵ On the term *verðung*, see Lindow, *Comitatus, Individual and Honor*, pp. 81–83.

Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa*, composed some ten years after the battle and targeting a distinctive cultural community at Cnut's court. On the other hand, we have the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1020 (again quoted from MS C):

7 on ðisum geare se cyng for to Assandune 7 Wulfstan arcebisceop 7 Þurkil eorl 7 manega
bisceopas mid heom, 7 gehalgodon þæt mynster æt Assandune.⁵⁶

In this much more sober Chronicle entry (written by a different author from the 'Æthelredian Chronicler' responsible for the 1016 entry on Ashingdon), Cnut is depicted as acting in a manner that foreshadows William the Conqueror's behaviour after Hastings: as Cnut founded (or refounded) the *mynster* at Ashingdon, so William was to found Battle Abbey.⁵⁷ Indeed, the later bilingual MS F makes plain Cnut's assumed motivation, by adding that the King had the minster built 'far ðare manna sawle ðe ðar ofslagene wæran' / 'pro animabus omnium ibi occisorum'.⁵⁸ Fortuitously, we may even have the very sermon preached on the occasion, in Wulfstan's homily Bethurum XVIII *De dedicatione ecclesiae*.⁵⁹ Archbishop Wulfstan and Óttarr svarti might seem unlikely bedfellows, but in the 1020s we can observe both of them engaged in the commemoration of Ashingdon under the auspices and within the presence of Cnut, the victor of the battle. The two did, of course, take radically different approaches to the act of commemoration; but both, apparently, were welcome to Cnut in the context of different constituencies of supporters and followers. Moreover, these constituencies were not wholly separate from one another. As in a Venn diagram, we can identify figures who participated in two or more groups: not only the King himself, of course, but also Earl Thorkel, his most important Danish supporter, named in both *Liðsmannaflokk* and the 1020 Chronicle entry.

In the presentation of memories of Ashingdon, Cnut's poets seem to have had a distinctive vision of the past. The second area to consider in terms of such a

⁵⁶ MS C, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 104. 'And in this year the king went to Ashingdon, and Archbishop Wulfstan and Earl Thorkel, and with them many bishops; and they consecrated the minster at Ashingdon' (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 98).

⁵⁷ See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1094.

⁵⁸ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, VIII: MS F: *A Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by Peter S. Baker (2000), p. 111; 'for the souls of the men who had been slain there' (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 98 n. 4).

⁵⁹ *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 246–50; see pp. 35 and 64 for discussion.

vision is the presentation of Cnut as the son of Swein Forkbeard. As Robert Frank has observed, Cnut's poets do not hesitate 'to observe that Cnut was his father's son'.⁶⁰ Although Swein's reputation seems to have dipped in later decades,⁶¹ Frank points out that 'in the 1020s and 1030s, a connection to this powerful Danish king, the overlord of Norway and Sweden and conqueror of England, seems still to have been regarded as a political asset and something worth publicizing'.⁶² So, as we have seen (and as Frank notes), Óttarr describes Cnut as *Sveins mǫgr* 'Swein's kinsman' (*Knútsdrápa* 6. 8) and Hallvarðr follows suit in his response to Óttarr's work (*Knútsdrápa* 1. 4). In more allusive fashion, Óttarr praises him as *stillis konr* 'king's son' (*Knútsdrápa* 3. 8) and Sigvatr as *fylkis niðr* 'king's descendant' (*Knútsdrápa* 7. 3). A similar point is made in an anonymous verse, preserved only in Snorri's *Edda* but most probably composed for Cnut:

Allvalda kannk alla
austr ok suðr of flausta
(Sveins es sonr at reyna)
setr (hverjum gram betri).⁶³

A further, significant allusion may be the third stanza of Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa*. After two opening half-stanzas that celebrate how the bold *Sveins mǫgr* launched his ships westwards across the sea, stanza 3 reads as follows:

Knútr, lézt framm til Fljóta –
frægr leið vǫrðr of ægi
heiptsnarr hildar leiptra –
harðbrynjuð skip dynja.
Ullr lézt við Ellu
ættleifð ok mǫ reifðir

⁶⁰ Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', p. 112.

⁶¹ See Peter Sawyer, 'Swein Forkbeard and the Historians', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. by Ian Wood and G. A. Loud (London, 1991), pp. 27–40.

⁶² Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', p. 112.

⁶³ 'I know all all-rulers east and south across the abode of ships [SEA]. Sveinn's son is better to deal with than any other ruler' (text and translation taken from my draft edition for *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*). Finnur Jónsson (*Skjaldedigtning*, 1B, 394) diffidently suggests that the king celebrated in this verse was the Danish St Knútr Sveinsson (d. 1086). However, the reasons for attributing the verse to the court of the earlier Knútr Sveinsson, Cnut the Great, seem stronger: the earlier king was much the more vigorous patron of skaldic verse, and the phrase *austr ok suðr* in line 2 suggests a geographic viewpoint centred on England rather than Denmark.

sverðmans snyrti-herðir
sundviggs flota bundit.⁶⁴

I suggested earlier that what is distinctive about Hallvarðr's poem is his presentation of an overview rather than a detailed narrative. In fact, in marked contrast to, say, Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa* or Þórarinn's *Togdrápa*, this stanza from Hallvarðr contains the only place-name to be found anywhere in the extant remains of his poem: *Fljót*, a plural form meaning 'rivers'. While this is not certain, the most likely interpretation of this place-name is that it is an Old Norse name for the River Humber.⁶⁵ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, though, records that when Cnut launched his attack on England in 1015, in an attempt to regain his father's conquest, his fleet touched land at Sandwich, before turning west along the south coast.⁶⁶ However, when Swein launched his earlier attack in 1013 (in the company of his son), the Chronicle records that Swein and Cnut took their ship-based army into the mouth of the Humber, and then up the River Trent to Gainsborough, at which point command of the fleet was placed in Cnut's hands.⁶⁷ If *Fljót* does indeed refer to the Humber (or even if it is simply a plural noun 'rivers', referring to the Humber and Trent), then it appears that the opening stanzas of Hallvarðr's poem refer at least as much to the attack of 1013 as that of 1015: Cnut's conquest of England is being placed within the context of his participation in Swein's earlier conquest; or rather, the two conquests are being elided together and presented as one and the same, with father and son acting in indistinguishable unity to bring about Danish rule in England.

In texts intended for a Norse-speaking audience, then, Cnut's poets are indeed careful to depict their patron as the son and heir of the mighty Swein. This is in some contrast to other sources from Cnut's reign. In texts and actions directed more at English- or Latin-using audiences, Cnut is presented not so much as the heir of Swein (the conqueror, bringing rupture) but rather of Edgar or Æthelred (the successor, bringing continuity): consider, for example, his invocation of Edgar

⁶⁴ 'Cnut, you caused your hard-armoured ships to rush forward to Fljót; the famous, battle-bold guardian of the lightning of battle [SWORDS > WARRIOR] glided across the sea. Splendid strengthener of the sea-horse [SHIP] of Ullr [SHIELD > WARRIOR], you had your fleet bound to the patrimony of Ælla [= England], and you gladdened the gull of the sword-girl [VALKYRIE > RAVEN/EAGLE].'

⁶⁵ See Matthew Townend, *English Place-Names in Skaldic Verse* (Nottingham, 1998), pp. 77–79, and Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age*, p. 76.

⁶⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1015.

⁶⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1013.

in a legal context in his 1018 law-code,⁶⁸ and his emulation of Æthelred in an ecclesiastical context in promoting the cult of Edith, Æthelred's sister.⁶⁹

The one later text that forms an exception to this is the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. One of the striking features of the *Encomium* is the amount of space it devotes to Swein rather than Cnut (or Emma). Written in support of Emma and Cnut's son Harthacnut, and probably at his court,⁷⁰ the *Encomium* shows how, for the Danish dynasty in England, descent from the conqueror Swein remained an essential part of their legitimacy and identity. As the Encomiast states in his *Argumentum*:

Sueinus, rex Danorum, uirtute armisque pollens et consilio Anglicum regnum ui suo subiugauit imperio, moriensque eiusdem regni Cnutonem filium successorem esse constituit.⁷¹

Similarly, the Encomiast's account of the initial attack on England makes much the same point as Hallvarðr's stanza 3, and presents Swein and Cnut as acting in inseparable concert.⁷² That this is a distinctively Danish (or Anglo-Danish) attitude is suggested by what follows. Once the Danish line in England has come to an end, texts from the reign of Edward the Confessor look back on the period of Danish rule not in terms of Swein's conquest, but rather in terms of Cnut's: it is Cnut who is perceived as inaugurating the period of Danish rule, and is so invoked in the 1065 Chronicle poem on the death of Edward and in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*,⁷³ Swein is not mentioned. The Danes, in texts composed in Old Norse and Latin, seem to have seen the beginnings of the Danish claim to England

⁶⁸ See A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *ASE*, 11 (1983), 57–81 (p. 72).

⁶⁹ See 'Goscelin's Legend of Edith', trans. by Michael Wright and Kathleen Loncar, in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 17–93 (pp. 77–79), and Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 153, 168.

⁷⁰ See for example Simon Keynes, 'Introduction to the 1998 Reprint', in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell, with a supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1998), pp. xiii–lxxx (pp. xxxix–xli, lix, lxxviii–lxxi).

⁷¹ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, pp. 6–7 ('Sveinn, king of the Danes, mighty alike in courage and arms and also in counsel, brought the English kingdom under his rule by force, and, dying, appointed his son Knútr to be his successor in the same kingdom').

⁷² See *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, pp. 10–13.

⁷³ See *MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 119, and *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. by Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. 9.

more in terms of Swein's conquest; the English, in texts in Old English and also Latin, more in terms of Cnut's.

Conclusion

In the literary history of late Anglo-Saxon England, and indeed of medieval England more broadly, Cnut's poets form a distinctive group, and their period of composition and cooperation a distinctive episode. For a brief time, peaking in the second half of the 1020s, Cnut's court in England was the most vibrant centre of skaldic culture in the Norse-speaking world; and indeed, during that brief time Norse skaldic poetry may have been the most vibrant literary culture in Anglo-Saxon England. A court culture emerged which used a distinctive language and a distinctive literary form, which enjoyed and drew on a distinctive corpus of poetic works, and which projected and explored a distinctive view of the recent past. But the literary community of Cnut's poets was also short lived and, in the long term, arguably of limited influence; that does not mean, however, that it should be denied its place as a significant episode in the history of eleventh-century culture, and of England's medieval multilingualism.

‘THE ENGLISH’ AND ‘THE IRISH’ FROM CNUT TO JOHN: SPECULATIONS ON A LINGUISTIC INTERFACE

Julia Crick

In this communication I shall follow the title of this volume to its logical extreme and consider circumstances in which language contact, or even multilingualism, must have taken place but has left little textual or linguistic trace. My enquiry focuses on England, narrowly defined, but it arises from the activities of ‘the English’ more broadly, French- as well as English-speaking. Even within the territories directly subject to the English king the economic, political, and military activities of the Anglo-Norman elite of the later twelfth century extended across two seas, east to the western seaboard of France and west to Ireland, and individuals ranged much further, into southern Italy or Palestine.¹ Consequently, few noble families possessed estates confined to England; some acquired land in

I am indebted to Chris Longman for bibliographical advice at the outset and for helpful comments on a draft text and to Seán Duffy, Bruce O’Brien, Oliver Padel, and David Parsons for commenting on late drafts and contributing additional bibliographical references. For elucidation of individual points I thank Anthony Harvey, David Walker, Roger Wright, and the editor. I have profited very considerably from the guidance so generously given, but I remain solely responsible for the views expressed here and for any errors or misapprehensions which remain. Two contributions relevant to my argument appeared after this paper was first submitted to the editor: Clare Downham, ‘Living on the Edge: Scandinavian Dublin in the Twelfth Century’, in *West over Sea: Studies in Scandinavian Sea-Borne Expansion and Settlement before 1300: A Festschrift in Honour of Dr Barbara E. Crawford*, ed. by Beverley Ballin Smith, Simon Taylor, and Gareth Williams (Leiden, 2007), pp. 33–52; Élisabeth Ridel, ‘From Scotland to Normandy: The Celtic Sea Route of the Vikings’, in *ibid.*, pp. 81–94.

¹ On ‘the English’, see John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000); also John Gillingham, ‘Normanizing the English Invaders of Ireland’, in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford, 2007), pp. 85–97.

Ireland, Wales, or Scotland in addition to family property in France and England.² In the Irish Sea, no less than in the eastern Mediterranean, the actions of Franco-phone lords constituted a response as well as an initiative: interaction in the so-called Irish Sea zone, not least the presumed volume and significance of trade, brought traffic in both directions.³ Not infrequently men from Ireland must have been temporary or permanent visitors to England as well as to other parts of Britain, and already before the last quarter of the twelfth century Ireland was attracting men from the Anglo-Norman realm in increasing numbers. Anglo-Irish relations therefore make an appropriate case study for hypothetically constructed language-contact, presupposing significant exchanges of resources, economic and intellectual, extending over many generations, but leaving little textual deposit.

Norman lords routinely negotiated linguistic frontiers, of course.⁴ Beyond what we might suppose to be the edges of the Germanic-speaking world, in parts of

² See, for example, Robin Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles', in *The British Isles 1100–1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, ed. by R. Davies (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 142–59; Robin Frame, 'Les Engleys nées en Irlande': The English Political Identity in Medieval Ireland', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 3 (1993), 83–103.

³ On contacts between England and Ireland in this period, see, in particular, Denis Bethell, 'English Monks and Irish Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Historical Studies*, 8 (1971), 111–35; Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 7–76, esp. 56–76; Benjamin T. Hudson, 'The Changing Economy of the Irish Sea Province: AD 900–1300', in *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. by Brendan Smith (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 39–66, repr. in Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies, 900–1200* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 21–46; Clare Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 26 (2004 for 2003), 55–73; also Aubrey Gwynn, 'Medieval Bristol and Dublin', *Irish Historical Studies*, 5 (1947), 275–86; Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The Church of Armagh under Lay Control', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 5 (1969), 75–127 (pp. 115–17). On communications between Ireland and Britain more generally, see, in addition, Seán Duffy, 'The 1169 Invasion as a Turning-Point in Irish–Welsh Relations', in *Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Smith, pp. 98–113; Seán Duffy, 'Ireland and Scotland, 1014–1169: Contacts and Caveats', in *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin, 2000), pp. 348–56; also Máire Herbert, 'Sea-Divided Gaels? Constructing Relationships between Irish and Scots c. 800–1160', in *Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Smith, pp. 87–97; Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion and Empire in the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 2005); Colmán Etchingham, 'North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: The Insular Viking Zone', *Peritia* 15, (2001), 145–87.

⁴ See Stephen Baxter in this volume. These matters are interestingly discussed by Bruce O'Brien in the second chapter of his *Reversing Babel: Translation among the English during an Age of Conquests, c. 800–c. 1200* (Newark, 2011). I am most grateful to him for sight of this chapter in advance of publication.

Wales, Ireland, and, indeed, Scotland, Normans dominated and conquered, extracting surplus, subduing populations, fathering children, and transacting marriages.⁵ None of these activities necessitated articulate communication, perhaps, but in Wales, that part of non-English-speaking Britain where intervention began first and went furthest, complex multilingualism is attested, however it was achieved. Besides men who spoke English or French, others of Irish or Norse origin visited or settled in Wales in the twelfth century.⁶ The *Life* of Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd (ob. 1137), for example, portrays a Wales in which Irish and Danes regularly fought alongside the Welsh and in which the French, too, employed Hiberno-Norse in their campaigns.⁷ In an era of multilingual armies and multilingual settlement, the speakers of English, Norse, and French might be presumed at the very least to have encountered a significant linguistic boundary in their interactions with speakers of Celtic languages.⁸ In modern times, despite the political imperative to make Ireland Irish, numerous and continuing governmental initiatives before and since partition in 1922 have failed to create an Irish-speaking

⁵ The classic accounts are R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990); R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000); Robin Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100–1400* (Oxford, 1990).

⁶ 'Home to Welsh, Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Danes, Irish and Flemings': David Moore, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Mediaeval Welsh Polity', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. by K. L. Maund (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 1–59 (p. 44). See also Robin Frame, 'Exporting State and Nation: Being English in Medieval Ireland', in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. by Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 143–65 (p. 149); Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 13–14; R. R. Davies, 'The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400: 1. Identities', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), 1–20 (pp. 14–15). On intervention in Wales, see R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1991), first published as *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987).

⁷ For example, *Vita Griffini filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. by Paul Russell (Cardiff, 2005), chaps 17–18, 29, pp. 68–71, 82–85.

⁸ William of Canterbury's *Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis* (Book IV, chap. 52) relates how a knight killed in Ireland on Henry's expedition died unshriven, either on account of the campaign or because of the barbarism of the people whose language he did not know ('uel propter expeditionem, uel gentis barbariem, cuius linguam nesciebat'): *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols (London, 1875–85), I, 137–546 (p. 364). Bull, in an article which alerted me to the importance of the *Miracula* for Anglo-Irish history, suggested a date in the 1170s: Marcus Bull, 'Criticism of Henry II's Expedition to Ireland in William of Canterbury's *Miracles of St Thomas Becket*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), 107–29 (pp. 107, 115–17).

polity. As a contemporary commentator has observed, Irish is 'not an easy language for a speaker of English to learn'.⁹

For the Anglo-Normans, this difficult linguistic interface became a pressing problem because after 1171 Ireland was irrevocably yoked to Anglo-Norman interests. In October that year Henry II of England sailed for Ireland and remained until April 1172, organizing and directing a process of conquest already underway in the hands of Norman lords, mostly from Wales. His expedition authorized a colonial enterprise on a very significant scale:¹⁰ a succession of English administrators from 1172, in 1177 a royal lord of Ireland in the form of his youngest son, John, after 1180, an archbishopric of Dublin monopolized by Englishmen, and a city of Dublin opened to the merchants of Bristol to exploit under favourable terms.¹¹ Ireland became a land of opportunity for incomers from a variety of social ranks.¹² English clergy, no less than nobles, made rapid fortunes there in high office and laid family roots.¹³ After a few unhappy experiments with nobles seduced by

⁹ In the face of legislation to institute the Irish language enacted in the years immediately preceding: Robert McColl Millar, *Language, Nation and Power: An Introduction* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 149–50. I owe to the kindness of my colleague, Chris Longman, this and subsequent references to sociolinguistics cited here. Note that by the fourteenth century English settlers in Ireland had become Irish-speaking: Davies, *First English Empire*, pp. 181–82.

¹⁰ See, most recently, Frame, 'Exporting State and Nation'.

¹¹ *Bristol Charters, 1155–1373*, ed. by N. Dermott Harding (Bristol, 1930), pp. 6–7. On the intervention, see, among a huge literature, Flanagan, *Irish Society*, esp. chaps 5 and 8, and Seán Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1997), chaps 3–4.

¹² The recent literature on English migration has been discussed by John Gillingham, 'A Second Tidal Wave? The Historiography of English Colonization of Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe: A Comparative Analysis against the Background of Other European Inter-Ethnic Colonization Processes in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jan M. Piskorski (Boulder, CO, 2002), pp. 303–27. Diane Korngiebel, 'English Colonization Strategies in Ireland and Wales in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2005), analyses rural settlement and town foundation within English lordships.

¹³ Henry de London, son of a London merchant, became Archbishop of Dublin in 1213 after an archdeaconry in Lichfield, and he followed a low-born English predecessor to the metropolitan: see Margaret Murphy, 'Balancing the Concerns of Church and State: The Archbishops of Dublin, 1181–1228', in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon*, ed. by Terry Barry and others (London, 1995), pp. 41–56; also Margaret Murphy, 'Cumin, John (d. 1212)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6043>> [accessed 18 March 2008] and 'London, Henry of (d. 1228)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17036>> [accessed 18 March 2008].

the opportunities of a half-conquered country, kings coopted bishops into provincial administration. Periodically from 1208 to 1213, for example, business concerning the diocese of Norwich was transacted in Dublin while the Bishop of Norwich acted as justiciar.¹⁴ Powerful Englishmen brought junior clerics in their wake;¹⁵ most famously, when Prince John attained his majority and visited Ireland, he was accompanied by clerics, among them the eagle-eyed Gerald of Wales.¹⁶ Economic exploitation generated population movement on a spectacular scale. The names of more than a thousand migrants bearing names suggesting origin in England, Wales, and France are recorded as citizens of Dublin *c.* 1200.¹⁷ While much activity was focused in Dublin, a city which had long housed immigrants, rural Ireland supported new lords, and the tithes and oblations of churches there were channelled towards Norman foundations: both those in the city and those overseas in England and Wales.¹⁸

With the exception of two relatively early narrative accounts, the events of English rule of Ireland in the first generation are logged in the most hidebound of sources: Latin charters, administrative records, Irish annals, all pre-programmed to inarticulacy on questions of mundane communication. The received interpretative model — a highly authoritative one — presupposes non-communication in

¹⁴ *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. VI: *Norwich 1070–1214*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Oxford, 1990), pp. 381–82; see also no. 347 (p. 277). For another example, see *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. VII: *Hereford, 1079–1234*, ed. by Julia Barrow (Oxford, 1993), p. 315.

¹⁵ Peter, master of the school at Winchester, witnessed as canon of St Patrick's in 1229: *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. X: *Bath and Wells, 1061–1205*, ed. by Frances M. R. Ramsey (Oxford, 1995), p. lii n. 131.

¹⁶ *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. and trans. by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), II. 32 (pp. 226–29).

¹⁷ *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c. 1190–1265*, ed. by Philomena Connolly and Geoffrey Martin (Dublin, 1992), on the date see p. xiv; mapped by Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Harmondsworth, 1993), p. 183, discussed on pp. 181–82. On Welsh migrants, see Duffy, 'The 1169 Invasion'.

¹⁸ For examples, see Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), and, on ecclesiastical colonization, Annagret Simms with an appendix by John Bradley, 'The Geography of Irish Manors: The Examples of the Llanthony Cells of Duleek and Colp in County Meath', in *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland: Studies Presented to F. X. Martin, o.s.a.*, ed. by John Bradley (Kilkenny, 1988), pp. 291–326; Arlene Hogan, *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: Lands, Patronage and Politics* (Dublin, 2008); also Nicholas Vincent, 'The Early Years of Keynsham Abbey', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 111 (1993), 95–113 (pp. 102, 104). The processes have been analysed by Korngiebel, 'English Colonization Strategies'.

the first generations: Robert Bartlett has taught us to think of colonial outposts like Dublin as linguistic islands.¹⁹ Certainly this chimes with Gerald of Wales's strikingly probable picture of embattled English troops in their barracks in Ireland drinking themselves to oblivion in a hostile environment.²⁰ It also conforms to Bartlett's notion that the cosmopolitan world of the French-speaking cleric extended into Ireland (and East presumably not just to Paris but to Jerusalem).²¹ But some or even most of the individuals who made up this very significant movement of population, whether as temporary visitors or permanent migrants, must have faced a new linguistic front. Even those whose activities were confined to Dublin would have found themselves in a populous city which retained elements of its earlier Norse population and whose status as linguistically distinct from its hinterland dated back more than two centuries.²² Those who needed to venture into rural Ireland, as colonizers, royal administrators, or agents of alien religious houses, would have heard Irish spoken and had occasion to communicate with the population, at least through an intermediary.²³ Somehow, the obstacles which Irish might seem to present to someone ignorant in the language, like myself, must have been circumvented. There were interpreters in Ireland: we know of at least one — but how had he acquired his bilingualism and, indeed, what languages did he speak?

The remainder of this paper is an attempt to work through these problems by considering their prehistory and broader context and to look for Anglo-Irish contacts in England. My evidence is for the most part historical and not linguistic.

¹⁹ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 234.

²⁰ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, II. 36 (pp. 240–41).

²¹ 'Whether he was travelling in England, Ireland, or Wales, studying in Paris or pursuing lawsuits at Rome, he never lacked a cultural context with which he could identify, in the form of French-speaking aristocrats or Latin churchmen': Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 11. For an opposing model of elite cosmopolitanism which presupposed multilingual interaction, see Sue Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 22–23.

²² On the imprint of the Hiberno-Norse on Norman Dublin, see Seán Duffy, 'Ireland's Hastings: The Anglo-Norman Conquest of Dublin', *ANS*, 20 (1998 for 1997), 69–85, and Duffy, 'The 1169 Invasion', p. 106. The hospital of St John was allegedly founded by an Ostman: Charles McNeill, 'Hospital of St. John without the Newgate, Dublin', in *Medieval Dublin: The Living City*, ed. by Howard Clarke (Blackrock, 1990), pp. 77–82 (p. 77), and Dublin citizens with Norse names are recorded after Henry's intervention: *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, ed. by Connolly and Martin, p. 15. For estimates of an eleventh-century population of four to five thousand, see Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, p. 92.

²³ On bilingualism at linguistic frontiers, see Wright, *Language Policy*, p. 21.

Presumption plays a strong part. But linguistically complex societies, and therefore most societies, include languages which leave little or no written trace.²⁴

I start my story in the northern suburbs of Gloucester, at Bride Lane, where in the last decades of the twelfth century a man named Nicholas acquired a plot. We have an original charter which tells us the dimensions of Nicholas's holding, the rent (40d.), and the landlord: all unremarkable. What distinguishes Nicholas is his birth. His father was Irish — *Hiberniensis*.²⁵ Was he a new migrant, tempted by economic opportunity in the years following Norman expeditions and conquest in the 1160s and 1170s, notably after Henry II granted Dublin to the citizens of Bristol?²⁶ Or had his father come to the Severn basin before Henry asserted dominion in his expedition? Should we see him as part of a Bristol-Channel trading zone which extended to Ireland and whose existence is well attested from the middle years of the twelfth century?²⁷

We can't know. Neither can we know what language Nicholas or his father spoke. Nicholas might even have been monolingual and have spoken only his mother tongue, presumably English or French. He was apparently integrated into Gloucester society, witnessing another charter among a body of citizens — a goldsmith, a couple of weavers, some men from the other side of the Severn (*ultra pontem*) — identified only by his patronymic.²⁸ Nicholas is unlikely to have been unique, however. Take, for example, the street in which Nicholas's plot was located. Bride Lane was named after the chapel of St Brigit, dedicated to an Irish saint, albeit one culted in pre-Conquest England, and consecrated, it appears, by

²⁴ On the rarity of linguistic homogeneity, see Tony Judt and Denis Lacorne, 'The Politics of Language', in *Language, Nation, and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age*, ed. by Tony Judt and Denis Lacorne (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 1–16 (p. 3); E. J. Hobsbawm, 'Are All Tongues Equal? Language, Culture and National Identity', in *Living as Equals*, ed. by Paul Barker (Oxford, 1996), pp. 85–98 (pp. 87–88); Millar, *Language, Nation and Power*, p. 22.

²⁵ *Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c. 1122–1263*, ed. by Robert B. Patterson ([n.p.], 1998), no. 88 (p. 67). Patterson dated the charter 1179 x 1205, presumably as it occurred in the abbacy of Thomas (Carbonel): *ibid.*, pp. xxvi and 67. On the location of Bride Lane, see Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 125, 328.

²⁶ Above, note 11. On Gloucester and Irish-Sea trade, see Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, pp. 81 and 163–64.

²⁷ Below, note 51. On Gloucester and language contact, see O'Brien, *Reversing Babel*.

²⁸ *Original Acta*, ed. by Patterson, no. 341 (pp. 261–62).

an Irish bishop in 1184.²⁹ The existence of an earlier St Brigit's in the vicinity is indicated by the occurrence of a series of witnesses styled *de Sancta Brigida* in charters relating to the earldom of Gloucester between 1165 and c. 1197, the earliest bearing the date 1167.³⁰ The association with Gloucester is strengthened by what is known of Nicholas *de Sancta Brigida*: he attested between 1165 and c. 1197 and held a tenement from Gloucester Abbey at Standish, south-west of Gloucester during the abbacy of Thomas (Carbonel) (1179 x 1205).³¹ One visiting bishop, one resident, and one dedication hardly demonstrate the presence of an Irish community, perhaps, but the notion of individual or group migration is not inherently unlikely given Gloucester's position on the eastern extremity of the Irish Sea zone. Chester, recognized home to a Hiberno-Norse population in the tenth century, had its own dedication to St Brigit, which certainly predated Henry II's expedition and which it has been suggested predated the Norman Conquest.³²

²⁹ On 10 October, by Eugenius, bishop of Ardmore, according to the chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent: Michael Hare, 'The Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent: A Preliminary Account', *Glevensis*, 27 (1993), 42–44 (pp. 43–44), cited by Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, p. 125. I am most grateful to Mr Hare for sending me a copy of his article. Eugenius took an oath of allegiance to Henry in 1172 and attested a charter of Diarmait Mac Carthaig in favour of St John, Cork, c. 1172–79: Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Blackrock, 1988), p. 62. On the diocese of Ardmore, Co. Waterford, attested between 1152 and 1210, see *ibid.*, pp. 58, 62. On the culting of Brigit in pre-Conquest England, see Alicea Corrêa, 'A Mass for St Patrick in an Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary', in *Saint Patrick A.D. 493–1993*, ed. by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 245–51 (pp. 250–51). See also below, note 31.

³⁰ Nicholas, Robert, and Stephen *de Sancta Brigida* appear in charters of Margaret de Bohun: 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford 1095–1201', ed. by David Walker, in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XXII (London, 1964), pp. 1–75, nos 89, 90, 99, 112, 115, 119, 120, 122. No. 90, granting to Llanthony Secunda the church at Chirton, Wilts, bears the date 1167. I am grateful to Dr David Walker for confirming the dates of these charters and the Gloucester connections of the style.

³¹ *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. by William Henry Hart, 3 vols (London, 1963–67), I, 111, II, 116, III, 68, 73–76. I owe these references to the kindness of Dr Walker. For early dedications to St Brigit in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, see F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 240, 277. A church of St Bride was attested at Ogmores before the 1140s: J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946–48), II, 643 (L 117).

³² Alan Thacker, 'The Early Medieval City and its Buildings', in *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, ed. by Alan Thacker (Leeds, 2000), pp. 16–30 (pp. 18–19); Alan Thacker, 'Early Medieval Chester 400–1230', in *The City of Chester: General History and Topography*, ed. by C. P. Lewis and A. T. Thacker, vol. V.1 of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of the County of Chester* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 16–33 (pp. 19–20). See also below note 50.

How, then, did English- and French-speakers negotiate the chasm of incomprehension presumably presented by Irish and the Irish? We may consider three potential strategies.

1. To assume that contacts in England were insufficient or negligible. The chasm remained just that.
2. To look for a lingua franca.
3. To look for other evidence of mediation: translators and other evidence of bilingualism.

Negligibility

For centuries Englishmen have viewed Ireland through the eyes of Gerald of Wales.³³ Gerald's knowledge was exceptional: his brother and cousins sought their fortunes in Ireland, his own career took him there on two occasions, once in the company of the future King John, and his prodigious energies ensured that he had completed two books on Ireland before the death of Henry II in 1189, within two decades of the first royal expedition.³⁴ But, as is well recognized, his polemics of ethnic denigration have overwhelmed alternative viewpoints ever since.³⁵ The Irish have been rendered so other that one forgets that Irish traders and churchmen visited the England and Wales of Gerald's youth (he was born in 1146) as they did in his later life. A few modern writers have discussed these visitors, many in terms of ecclesiastical politics, but fewer still have addressed the problem of communication.³⁶ The evidence is fragmentary, oblique, but eloquent.

The best-attested and best-studied references are of course the ecclesiastical.³⁷ The Irish commemorated St Dunstan; the English remembered Sts Patrick,

³³ For early modern examples, see John Gillingham, 'Images of Ireland 1170–1600: The Origins of English Imperialism', *History Today*, 37.2 (1987), 16–22. For late medieval examples, see Frame, 'Exporting State and Nation', p. 153.

³⁴ The *Topographia* and *Expugnatio hibernica*. See, most conveniently, Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, esp. pp. 213–16.

³⁵ Discussed by Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 158–210. This has become the orthodox position: see, for example, Davies, *First English Empire*, pp. 115–16.

³⁶ On communication after 1170, see above, note 19; Robert Bartlett, 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England', in *Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Smith, pp. 67–86 (p. 83).

³⁷ Aubrey Gwynn, 'The First Bishops of Dublin', *Reportorium Novum*, 1 (1955), 1–26, repr. in *Medieval Dublin*, ed. by Clarke, pp. 37–61; Ó Fiaich, 'The Church of Armagh'; Bethell, 'English

Brigit, Aidán, Modwenna, and Bega.³⁸ Intellectual contact was kept alive in the tenth and eleventh centuries as the presence in England of Irish books, Irish churchmen, and Irish glosses attests.³⁹ For a century after the Norman Conquest the structures of the Church presupposed contact, although the channels of communication often remain invisible. Irish-speaking bishops were regularly, even routinely, consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and their professions were kept in Canterbury's archives and the occasions noted by writers of ecclesiastical narratives. These consecrations were evidently major occasions when diocesan bishops gathered, presumably networked with each other, and conducted business.⁴⁰ The new bishop who had occasioned the gathering did not participate simply as a passive recipient of a Latin rite, however. Most had spent time in England before or after the ceremony, some as members of four different English monastic communities.⁴¹ Others maintained a connection as bishop, returning to be involved in litigation, negotiation, or later consecrations. Some time before 1121 Malchus (Maelísu Ua hAinmire), consecrated Bishop of Waterford by Anselm in 1096, was present at Wistanstow, Shrops., where he adjudicated a case involving the property of Much Wenlock, Shropshire.⁴² Patrick, consecrated Bishop of Limerick by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury in 1140, was present at Exeter

Monks'; Mark Philpott, 'Some Interactions between the English and Irish Churches', *ANS*, 20 (1998 for 1997), 187–204; Martin Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective on Church Reform and Ireland, 1070–1115', in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, ed. by Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (Dublin, 2006), pp. 13–35.

³⁸ Brian Ó Cuív, 'St Gregory and St Dunstan in a Middle-Irish Poem on the Origins of Liturgical Chant', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay and others (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 273–97 (esp. p. 289); Corrêa, 'A Mass for St Patrick'; Bartlett, 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints'.

³⁹ David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 111–12, 128–29. For Irish glosses, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, rev edn (Oxford, 1990), pp. 312–13, n. 240.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Gregory of Dublin's consecration at Lambeth on 2 October 1121: *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. I: *Lincoln, 1067–1185*, ed. by David M. Smith (London, 1980), p. 206.

⁴¹ Irish monks of Canterbury, St Albans, Winchester, and perhaps Worcester later went on to receive Irish bishoprics in the 1080s and 1090s: respectively Donnchad Ua hAinglí (bishop of Dublin, ob. 1095) and Samuel Ua hAinglí, his successor; Malchus, mentioned below (note 42), was a former monk of Winchester. On their status as native Irishmen, see Ó Fiaich, 'The Church of Armagh', pp. 115–17 (esp. p. 117 n. 1).

⁴² *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. XV: *London, 1076–1187*, ed. by Falko Neiningner (Oxford, 1999), no. 26 (pp. 19–20): noticed by Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective', p. 30, n. 30.

in 1148, where he witnessed one of Bishop Robert's charters.⁴³ Other Irish bishops found their business took them to England. Patrick's predecessor, Gilbert (Gilla), consecrated c. 1106/07, possibly at Rouen, appears at St Albans a decade later, consecrating a hermit.⁴⁴ Most striking is the case of Laurence (Lorcán ua Tuathail), the last Irish Archbishop of Dublin, consecrated in 1162, who, according to his biographer, shuttled back and forth between Ireland and England before his death in 1180.⁴⁵

Leaving aside formal contacts of this nature, men from Ireland turn up unexpectedly and repeatedly in English records. Men bearing Irish, or Hiberno-Norse, names are attested in Cornwall, Somerset, and elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁶ Charter attestations document the presence of otherwise unknown individuals in English monastic communities in the twelfth century: *Gislebert de Hibernia* witnessed an Exeter chapter deed of 1160 as a scholar; *Gaufrid[us] Hybernien[sis]* attested a grant at Winchester in 1200, apparently among the cathedral chapter.⁴⁷ The Ramsey chronicle tells how the Abbot of Ramsey was murdered at Mass on St Michael's day in 1043 by an Irishman who had been rescued from starvation and destitution some years earlier and since allowed to dine at the Abbot's table.⁴⁸ Irish travellers of other sorts are attested: pilgrims, traders from Ireland selling cloaks in the Cambridge market in the time of Edgar (AD 957–75),

⁴³ *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. XI: *Exeter, 1046–1184*, ed. by Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1996), no. 32 (pp. 31–32): noticed by Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective', p. 25, n. 26.

⁴⁴ *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, eiusdem ecclesie præcentore compilata*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, 3 vols (London, 1867–69), I, 148. Discussed by Philpott, 'Some Interactions', pp. 202–04. On Gilbert's consecration at Rouen, see Seán Duffy, 'Gilbert (d. 1145)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10734>> [accessed 21 September 2007]. See also Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective', pp. 28–32.

⁴⁵ 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent, archevêque de Dublin', ed. by Charles Plummer, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), 121–86. See below, p. 235.

⁴⁶ David E. Thornton, 'Hey Mac! The Name Maccus, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries', *Nomina*, 20 (1997), 67–98. I am indebted to Dr Thornton for an offprint of his paper and to Dr Padel for discussion of the name-form and for a reference to Muelpatrec, manumitted at Bodmin c. 959–90.

⁴⁷ *English Episcopal Acta*, XI, ed. by Barlow, p. lvi, n. 4; *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. VIII: *Winchester, 1070–1204*, ed. by M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), no. 252 (p. 197). Both phrases are best translated neutrally as meaning 'from Ireland' because although Irish names were often Latinized to their Norman equivalents, there are reasons for distrusting this as an absolute rule: below, notes 55–57.

⁴⁸ *Chronicon abbatiæ Ramesiensis, a saec. X usque ad an. circiter 1200*, ed. by William Dunn Macray (London, 1886), pp. 155–56: noticed by Bethell, 'English Monks'.

slave traffickers in Bristol.⁴⁹ Encounters such as these belong within a much larger and more stable body of evidence. Trade with Chester is well attested archaeologically and historically, not least in toponymic evidence;⁵⁰ Hudson, Downham, and others have stressed the volume and significance of traffic across the Irish Sea before 1200.⁵¹

Isolated incidents reinforce the impression of pre-existing contacts, both political and economic, derived from this wider context. Ireland had provided ships for Welsh kings and for English dissidents, most famously for the sons of Harold Godwinsson in 1066.⁵² An approach made by an Irish king to a Bristol merchant, Robert fitz Harding, precipitated Henry II's expedition.⁵³ Contact at a lower social level can be inferred: Benjamin Hudson revived a suggestion made by Brooke and Keir that the presence of St Bride's church in London signalled the presence of an adjacent Hiberno-Norse quarter as early as the time of Cnut.⁵⁴ Such references are amplified by the evidence of charters. Men identified by a connection with Ireland were resident at Exeter before and soon after Henry's expedition, although the nature of their Irishness remains ill defined. *Gislebert de Hibernia*, recorded among ecclesiastical witnesses at Exeter in 1159/60 (above), is only the first of a series of men with the cognomen *de Hibernia* (*Hiberniensis*), who feature

⁴⁹ *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418*, ed. by William Dunn Macray (London, 1863), p. 91; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake (London, 1962), II. 32, p. 107; *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, II. 19–20, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 98–103, noticed by Bethell, 'English Monks' and Flanagan, *Irish Society*.

⁵⁰ Thacker, 'Early Medieval Chester', and references. The place-names of Cheshire preserve nine Old Irish personal names and seven times as many Old Norse: J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, 5 vols in 6 (London 1970–81), v, I. ii, 412–14. None is attested before the thirteenth century, but the likeliest historical context surely antedates the evidence by some centuries.

⁵¹ Hudson, 'The Changing Economy'; Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone'. Patrick F. Wallace, 'The Archaeology of Ireland's Viking-Age Towns', in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 1: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), pp. 814–41 (pp. 838–40).

⁵² Benjamin Hudson, 'The Family of Harold Godwinsson and the Irish Sea Province', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 109 (1979), 92–100, repr. in Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies, 900–1200* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 100–08.

⁵³ Robert B. Patterson, 'Robert fitz Harding (d. 1171)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9597>> [accessed 18 September 2007].

⁵⁴ Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies*, p. 51. See also Pamela Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Hustings and Danish Influence on London's Development into a Capital City', *EHR*, 102 (1987), 559–78 (567 and n. 5). I owe this reference to Charlie Cornish-Dale.

regularly in Exeter documents until the middle of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ Discounting Gislebertus, the first to be styled as 'from Ireland' is one William *Lireis* or *Yrreis* (Francized), who attests documents datable to 1171 and 1175–84.⁵⁶ Richard *de Hibernia* c. 1180 witnessed a tenancy agreement involving Exeter property owned by the Dean and Chapter, and property belonging to a Roger *de Hibernia* is identified in an Exeter deed from before 1208, interestingly in the same area, *Bileburi*, as the later transaction witnessed by William *Yreis*.⁵⁷ These are Exeter residents owning Exeter property; by the thirteenth century at the latest, therefore, they can be presumed to have been French- or English-speaking traders. They associated with men from other mercantile dynasties with interests in Dublin, whose documents they witnessed.⁵⁸ The nature of their claim to distinction from their peers remains an open question, however. Irish or Ostman (Hiberno-Norse) descent would have distinguished them from other families with Irish property interests, but so might early intervention overseas. William, whose name does not easily translate an Irish or Norse equivalent, attests with the cognomen *Yreis* as early as the 1170s; Gislebertus, who was identified by a name used to Latinize Gaelic *Gille*, or *Gille Brighide*, attested as *de Hibernia* a decade before Henry's expedition.⁵⁹ Either or both might substantiate the hypothesis suggested by some that Dublin had attracted English settlers before Henry's intervention, but Gislebertus might just as easily have been Irish.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ A dozen individuals so styled are indexed by P. R. Staniforth and J. Z. Juddery, *Exeter Property Deeds 1150–1450*, 5 vols (Exeter, 1991–92), IV, 301. The earliest reference is to Richard.

⁵⁶ Cartulary of St Nicholas Priory, London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius D IX, fols 45^v, 60^{r-v}; Exeter, Devon Record Office ED/SN/5. The last was indexed under IRISH by Staniforth and Juddery, *Exeter Property Deeds*, IV, 304 and calendared by them as no. 0543: *ibid.*, I, 69–70.

⁵⁷ Exeter, Dean and Chapter Archives, MS 1: Staniforth and Juddery, *Exeter Property Deeds*, II, 100, no. 0775. Roger had two sons, Roger and William: *ibid.*, IV, 301.

⁵⁸ It is striking how many common names are found among the townsmen attested in Exeter and Dublin documents c. 1200. For example, *Johannes Boschet de Exonia* is listed on the Dublin roll of names, presumably a relative of the Bartholemew Boschet, beneficiary of the charter cited above, note 57: *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, ed. by Connolly and Martin, p. 8. I hope to document these connections in a future study.

⁵⁹ Seán Duffy, to whom I owe discussion of the Gaelic roots of these names, informs me that Ostmen frequently bore *Gille*-names. See also Thornton, 'Hey, Mac!', pp. 81–82.

⁶⁰ On the hypothesis of early intervention, see Gwynn, 'Medieval Bristol', p. 278; on Welsh links with Ireland, see Korngiebel, 'English Colonization Strategies', p. 207, and with Dublin in particular, see Duffy, 'The 1169 Invasion', p. 106. A family connection links later generations of men styled *de Hibernia*, but there is insufficient information to gauge whether the first examples of men

Although eastward migration is difficult to document, population movement across the Irish Sea went in both directions: it is clear that for townsmen no less than for aristocrats, Ireland offered opportunities which could be exploited on a temporary basis, or as an adjunct to interests of longer standing. Gervase of Tilbury, writing before 1218, described Bristol as the crossing point to Ireland, a place full of wealthy citizens.⁶¹ One such mercantile dynasty, the descendants of William of Abbotstone, whose name appears on the earliest list of Dublin citizens, appear to have maintained property interests on both sides of the Irish Sea. In the early thirteenth century, Dionysia, his daughter, exchanged land in Dublin for property in Bristol, securing the land, building, and appurtenances of the Bristol property for herself and her heirs. Her son, also named William, scheduled to inherit the Bristol property according to Dionysia's charter, nevertheless retained interests in Dublin, later making a grant of rent from Dublin property to St Mary's Dublin to benefit his mother's soul and that of his father.⁶² We also find a man of the same name, presumably the same William, listed as a tenant of property in Rock Street, Dublin, belonging to one Roger Cordwainer, perhaps to be identified as the Roger, son of William Cordwainer, who was rector of St Mary's Bristol, with whom William's mother had conducted the exchange of Bristol and Dublin property some years earlier.⁶³

This evidence suggests a degree of semi-formal and informal contact between the populations of the two islands: high-ranking Irish churchmen participated occasionally in English ecclesiastical politics, especially in the first half of the twelfth century, while in certain towns and monasteries, especially in the west, trade with Ireland offered a major opportunity for migration in both directions, for enrichment, and for the temporary and permanent extension of family interests.

so styled were connected by anything more than association with Ireland. For a suggestion that the Irish-Sea trade precipitated Anglo-Norman involvement in Ireland, see Wallace, 'The Archaeology', p. 839.

⁶¹ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. by S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford, 2002), I.13, p. 83.

⁶² 'totam terram suam in Dublinia versus novam portam': *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. by David Walker ([n.p.], 1998), p. 349 (no. 547). William (II)'s property lay between the church of St Audoen and the house of William Blundel: *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: With the Register of its House at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland*, ed. by John T. Gilbert, 2 vols (London, 1884), I, 243 (no. 230).

⁶³ *Chartularies of St. Mary's*, ed. by Gilbert, I, 351 (no. 287).

Use of a Lingua Franca: How Was Communication Achieved?

Contact must not be mistaken for communication: misunderstanding may have fuelled the fury which led the Irish dependent of the Abbot of Ramsey to murder his patron.⁶⁴ However certain channels facilitated complex expression, as is well recognized. Thirteen letters extant in the letter collections of Lanfranc and Anselm show exchanges in Latin between Irish bishops and their congregations with their spiritual leaders at Canterbury.⁶⁵ Likewise in the early twelfth century the Bishops of Waterford and Dublin corresponded with Anselm, the archbishop who had consecrated them, and his successor, Ralph, was petitioned in writing by the people and clergy of Dublin.⁶⁶ One Irishman named Patrick, thought until recently to be Bishop Patrick of Dublin, chose Latin as the medium for communicating to an English episcopal patron, possibly Wulfstan of Worcester, a sequence of texts, including Irish mirabilia.⁶⁷ Latin must have served as a major spoken language as well. Gregory, consecrated Bishop of Dublin at Lambeth on 2 October 1121, was a guest of English churchmen for at least a whole month: being ordained deacon and priest at Devizes castle, in September, he then participated in the consecration of the church at Tewkesbury three weeks after his consecration. Bishop Gregory might just have got through his month in England in 1121 using Latin alone as just possibly might Laurence (Lorcán ua Tuathail) visiting England repeatedly half a century later. One wonders about Irishmen resident in English monastic communities, though: it is an issue to which I shall return.⁶⁸

It is possible to envisage other possible common languages of communication. Dublin and the Norse ports are credited with the bulk of Irish trade at this time. It is very striking that Nicholas, the citizen of Gloucester with whom we started, had an Irish father with a Norse name: Sevar.⁶⁹ Thus *Hiberniensis* functioned as a geographical as well as an ethnic or linguistic label. The traders *de Hibernia* visiting

⁶⁴ Above, note 48.

⁶⁵ Listed in Philpott, 'Some Interactions', pp. 190–91, n. 20. See most recently Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, pp. 163–67.

⁶⁶ Philpott, 'Some Interactions', and, on Ralph, David N. Dumville, 'St Patrick and the Scandinavians of Dublin', in *Saint Patrick*, ed. by Dumville, pp. 259–64 (p. 263).

⁶⁷ *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1076–1084*, ed. by Aubrey Gwynn (Dublin, 1955). Brett has recently cast doubt on the identification: 'Canterbury's Perspective', pp. 33–35.

⁶⁸ Below, notes 85–88.

⁶⁹ ON Sæfari: John Insley, 'Some Scandinavian Personal Names from South-West England', *Namn och Bygd*, 70 (1981), 77–93 (p. 87).

Cambridge in the tenth century are likely to have been Ostmen, that is members of the Norse-speaking trading communities established in Ireland by the Vikings. Hudson's vision of presumably Norse-speaking Irish in a quarter around St Bride's in London in the middle or late eleventh century fits alongside a better-attested model of the Norse-speaking traders commonly associated with quarters around churches dedicated to St Olave.⁷⁰ High-level contacts can be posited or attested. Hudson speculated that one of Cnut's earls, Sihtric, might have been a former king of Dublin, and again, the assumption presupposed easy movement within a Norse-speaking Atlantic zone, at least for a generation after the Scandinavian conquest of the English kingdom.⁷¹ Gruffudd ap Cynan's ready recourse to Dublin fleets presumably owed something to his Hiberno-Norse descent.

The rise to power of a Norse-speaking elite in England in the generation or two after Swein's conquest also had implications for intercourse with the west.⁷² Exeter possessed a pre-Conquest dedication to St Olaf, the Norwegian king killed in 1030, culted in Waterford and Dublin and in England. Norse personal names are attested in the south-west in the later eleventh century, although whether they attest ancestry or affiliation to the east, to the north-east, or even to the west is unclear.⁷³ Whether the Norse language perhaps eased the negotiations of the quarter-Scandinavian sons of Harold in securing military aid from Dublin remains unknowable,⁷⁴ although Norse and English are likely to have been mutually intelligible in the tenth and eleventh centuries in any case.⁷⁵ If Norse functioned as a language of communication in English-speaking areas in the twelfth century it has

⁷⁰ Christopher N. L. Brooke, assisted by Gillian Keir, *London 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), pp. 139–42; Nightingale, 'The Origin', pp. 567–68. Barbara Crawford is undertaking a study of dedications to St Clement which examines the Norse associations of the cult: 'The Saint Clement Dedications at Clementhorpe and Pontefract Castle: Anglo-Scandinavian or Norman', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 189–210.

⁷¹ On Sihtric, see Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, pp. 110–27.

⁷² On this group, see Matthew Townend in this volume; Simon Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 43–88.

⁷³ On his cult, see above, note 70. On Olaf and the Irish cult, see Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, p. 124. The names are discussed by Insley, 'Some Scandinavian Personal Names'.

⁷⁴ Harold's mother, Gytha, was the aunt of the Danish king, Swein Estrithson. Gruffudd's mother was the daughter of Olaf, grandson of Olaf Sihtricsson, the Hiberno-Norse king of Dublin.

⁷⁵ Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout, 2002).

left little or no trace; nevertheless the proximity between the two languages was evident to Gerald of Wales, writing in the 1180s.⁷⁶

Mediation

Presumably, for the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, the future lay in translation and bilingual contacts of other sorts. Here I arrive properly at my third category. We know from the Hiberno-French poem which celebrated the English invasion, newly edited by Evelyn Mullally as the *Geste* of the English in Ireland, that the king of the Leinster territory (Uí Chennselaig) on whose behalf Anglo-Norman forces first arrived in Ireland had his own translator, *latimer*, Maurice Ua Riadáin, the stated source for much of the *Geste*.⁷⁷ Mauricius is used elsewhere to Latinize the Irish Anglicized as Malchus, and there is no difficulty of thinking of him as Irish.⁷⁸ Assuming that the English settlers spoke French, where did Malchus learn his French? The possibilities are numerous. Wales acted as a linguistic clearing house, with French-, Norse-, and Irish-speakers present alongside Welsh and English. Translators are well attested in Wales in the early centuries of Norman intervention, some resident with or members of the Welsh princely elite, presumably mediating between Welsh and French;⁷⁹ three generations before Henry II's intervention the Norman lord of Pembroke had allegedly negotiated marriage to the daughter of the King of Munster; Diarmait Mac Murchada called in at Bristol and lodged with Robert fitz Harding.⁸⁰ Circumstances precipitating contact between Irish and

⁷⁶ 'Dicti sunt Ostmanni lingua ipsorum, corrupto quodam Saxonico, quasi orientales homines': *Topographia Hiberniae*, Distinctio III, c. 43, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, 8 vols (London 1861–91), v, 187, cited by Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, pp. 6 and 211 and n. 2. For an assessment of the persistence of Norse in eleventh-century England, see David N. Parsons, 'How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? Again', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997*, ed. by James Graham-Campbell and others (Oxford, 2001), pp. 299–312.

⁷⁷ *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande*, ed. and trans. by Evelyn Mullally (Dublin, 2002), lines 1–10, 420–24, 2992–97 (pp. 53, 63, 130) and discussion on pp. 27–28.

⁷⁸ *English Episcopal Acta*, xv, ed. by Neiningen, no. 26; above, note 42. See Evelyn Mullally, 'Hiberno-Norman Literature and its Public', in *Settlement and Society*, ed. by Bradley, pp. 327–43 (pp. 328–29).

⁷⁹ Constance Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff, 1966).

⁸⁰ Above, note 11.

French-speakers could be envisaged almost along the length of the Irish-Sea coast of Britain — Bristol, Wales, Chester, even Scotland — or, alternatively, France itself.⁸¹ In the first quarter of the eleventh century a Norman scholar, Warner, dedicated to the Archbishop of Rouen a scurrilous and often obscene poem lampooning an Irish scholar which suggested that Irish slaves were arriving in Normandy through the agency of Viking traders;⁸² in 1169 the office of lector of Armagh was held by a man reportedly trained for twenty-one years in France and England;⁸³ a Dublin-born penitent at Canterbury in the 1170s claimed that he had contracted the illness from which he was seeking a cure when his father had sent him to France to trade.⁸⁴ Indeed, by the end of the twelfth century churches in Dublin as well as Bristol and Gloucester bore dedications to St Ouen, Rouen's patron saint.

It is not unlikely that certain frequent or long-term visitors to England, such as the residents of English monastic communities, had acquired some French or English. Note the case of the Irishman Gilbert of Limerick (cons. 1106), whom Seán Duffy envisaged was consecrated at Rouen.⁸⁵ As Martin Brett has recently shown, he seems to have fitted into the Anglo-Norman world very comfortably, both intellectually and in practical terms: travelling to Rouen, visiting Westminster for the consecration of Queen Matilda's former chancellor, staying with Matilda, and visiting St Albans in order to conduct consecrations there.⁸⁶ Do we imagine he was able to converse in Latin in the Queen's company; do we imagine that he had a translator; or do we imagine that he spoke French?⁸⁷ Malachy, the famous

⁸¹ See Duffy, 'Ireland and Scotland'.

⁸² *Warner of Rouen: Moriut. A Norman-Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. by Christopher J. McDonough (Toronto, 1995); on the date see pp. 5–6.

⁸³ Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 2, n. 13.

⁸⁴ 'Aiebas te natum in Hybernia, ciuitate Duuelina, missumque a patre tuo in Gallias negotiari': William of Canterbury, *Miracula S. Thomae*, Book II, chap. 57: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson, I, 219.

⁸⁵ Above, note 44.

⁸⁶ Above, note 44.

⁸⁷ Roger Wright pointed out in discussion that French and spoken Latin would have been linguistically close until at least the twelfth century. See further Roger Wright, 'Translation between Latin and Romance in the Early Middle Ages', in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo, 1997), pp. 7–32. Michel Banniard has dated the breakdown of the linguistic continuum between Latin and Romance languages rather earlier, to the tenth century at latest: *Viva Voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), esp. pp. 492–93.

pioneering Cistercian Bishop of Armagh, who died at Clairvaux in 1148 and was the recipient of a *Vita* composed by Bernard of Clairvaux himself, might have used Latin alone on his visits to France; but what about Archbishop Laurence who travelled from Ireland to England to negotiate on behalf of the high king of Ireland, surviving an attempt on his life at Canterbury in 1175 but dying in Normandy in 1180, at Eu, where he was buried.⁸⁸ One learns from his *Vita* that he spent his youth as a hostage with King Diarmait of Leinster, the king with the French translator and the Anglo-Norman friends, who reinforced his connection with Laurence by marrying his sister.⁸⁹ Did Laurence speak French? Even if spoken Latin still sounded much like French surely translation was still necessary. Native speakers of French may have comprehended spoken Latin fairly readily, even at this date, but the linguistic border did not remain open to all comers: there is no evidence that comprehension of French came automatically to Irish clerics who knew Latin. Indeed, the identification of some men as interpreters in Ireland and Wales suggests that comprehending the language of the invaders may have been a different or more specialized skill than knowledge of Latin.⁹⁰

Translators were needed in England, too. An Irish nobleman on pilgrimage to Canterbury in Laurence’s lifetime spoke through a monk-interpreter (*monachum interpretem*).⁹¹ William of Canterbury, writing at Christ Church in the 1170s, recalled the incident, and elsewhere he inserted a few words of Irish, now garbled,

⁸⁸ Plummer, ‘Vie et miracles’, c. 25–26, pp. 152–56.

⁸⁹ For the marriage, see M. T. Flanagan, ‘Laurence (c. 1128–1180)’, in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20934>> [accessed 18 March 2008].

⁹⁰ Unless incomprehension was politically convenient, and this remains a possibility, the situation just described suggests that the spoken Latin of Irishmen was appreciably different from that of men whose native language was French. Anthony Harvey has explored the gulf between Continental- and Hiberno-Latin pronunciation in the ninth century in “Battling Andrew” and the West-Brit Syndrome ‘Twelve Hundred Years Ago’, *Classics Ireland*, 9 (2002), 19–27. See also Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 95–109. Roger Wright (pers. comm.) has pointed out to me that an Irishman taught Latin by a Francophone is likely to have learned an intonation and modification of word order closer to French. Such a learning process would indeed have smoothed the transition from Latin to French. For a possible instance of Irish-Latin translation, see below, note 91.

⁹¹ ‘Uolens nobilis quidam Hiberniensis reddere gratias Thomae, comites secum adduxit et monachum interpretem’: William of Canterbury, *Miracula S. Thomae*, Book VI, chap. 19: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson, I, 431–32. Bull understands the interpreter to be English: Bull, ‘Criticism of Henry II’s Expedition’, pp. 120–21. I read the passage as indicating that he was part of the Irish delegation.

into his own account of the miracles of St Thomas.⁹² His action neatly summarizes the complexity of the linguistic interface we have been examining. He, an Anglo-Norman monk resident in eastern England, recorded in a Latin text Irish words allegedly spoken by an Irish leper bearing the Norse name of Sihtric and thus presumably of Hiberno-Scandinavian descent.⁹³

Finally, this paper may have given the impression that the overtures went one way: that it was always the Irish making the effort. This might fit with a received picture of dominance: pre-Revolutionary Russians consigned to their vernacular while the ascendancy spoke French and German.⁹⁴ In Ireland, however, boundaries were more permeable. The use of a common language of religion, the antiquity and complexity of relations between the two sides, intermarriage, and the cultural authority and antiquity of written Irish saw to that. Gerald of Wales relays how John de Courcy, the conquistador of Ulster, kept by himself a book of prophecies in Irish 'as a kind of mirror of his own deeds'.⁹⁵ Irish attracted as well as repelled, and its artefacts did not escape the rapacity of the conqueror.

Conclusions

This communication rehearses well-known facts: that high-ranking Irishmen visited the courts of Anglo-Norman kings and churchmen and made themselves understood, that scrutiny of monastic narratives and charter attestations reveals the presence of a lesser-ranking Irish residents of England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that the commerce of the Irish Sea trading zone affected very significantly individuals in certain English urban communities west of the Pennines. Future prosopographical work may allow this last set of connections to be amplified and extended beyond Chester and Bristol to towns like Exeter and Gloucester.

⁹² William of Canterbury, *Miracula S. Thomae*, Book II, chap. 59: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson, I, 221; and above, note 91.

⁹³ As Bull pointed out, 'Criticism of Henry II's Expedition', p. 120 n. 59.

⁹⁴ Millar, *Language, Nation and Power*, p. 7.

⁹⁵ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, II.17, pp. 176–77 and 333–34. This episode is mentioned by Seán Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation: John de Courcy and the Men of Cumbria', in *Colony and Frontier*, ed. by Barry and others, pp. 1–27 (p. 2 n. 6). (Dr Duffy has pointed out to me the potential linguistic significance of the connections between de Courcy and Cumbria and Galloway which he documented in this essay.) On de Courcy and Irish hagiography, see Bartlett, 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints', p. 76.

Despite very little concrete evidence for how 'the English' and 'the Irish' communicated, certain working assumptions can be adopted. Churchmen presumably spoke as well as wrote Latin, although some Irishmen may have spoken French or English as well. Norse may have provided a significant medium of communication in the eleventh century in particular because through it parts of Ireland belonged to the Germanic-speaking world, the more so because the inhabitants of these places ventured so widely. The history of Britain and Ireland in the tenth and eleventh centuries precipitated the settlement of families of Scandinavian descent throughout England, in areas under uninterrupted English rule as well as in those which had lost their native ruling dynasties. Scandinavian names characterized the ruling elite of the south-west in the eleventh century, at the western limit of Godwine's influence and perhaps, although not necessarily, as a result of his patronage; Norse-speaking elements in certain English towns in particular were supplemented, Hudson has suggested, by newer Norse-speaking quarters. If immigrants *de Hibernia* spoke Norse then the linguistic interface must have been eased considerably.

The main thrust of this exploration, however, has been to suggest that the case of the Irish constitutes only one scarcely visible instance of what must have been a much wider phenomenon. The presence in towns of immigrants from Ireland (presumably interacting predominantly in Norse or English) and of high-ranking foreign visitors in royal and episcopal courts (using French or Latin) raises questions about the multilingualism of individuals but also of society more generally.⁹⁶ Britain, a much-invaded island, for the same reasons was also much visited, as archaeological evidence for trade attests. Irish towns were scarcely more monolingual, with English-, Welsh-, and French-speakers occasionally represented among a permanent Hiberno-Norse presence before the Norman invasion. In the twelfth century the term 'the Irish', no less than 'the English', should be treated as linguistically ambiguous.

⁹⁶ On this distinction, see Townend, *Language and History*, p. 185.

MULTILINGUALISM, SOCIAL NETWORK THEORY, AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE IN THE TRANSITION FROM OLD TO MIDDLE ENGLISH

Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre and M^a Dolores Pérez-Raja

Introduction: The Social Network Hypothesis and the History of Languages

A majority of historical linguists agree that the radical language changes in the transition from Old to Middle English proceeded earlier in texts from the North and the North-East Midlands than in the southern dialects. Indeed, a number of grammatical changes that would affect the language in Middle English had already started in northern texts by *c.* 900, like the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and they underwent a hasty diffusion in those areas until their definite *actuation* by the late twelfth century. A non-exhaustive catalogue of some of these changes would comprise, among others, the following:

- (a) the merging together of non-tonic vowels into <e>, particularly in final position, and the loss of <-n> in the same environment, both of which accompanied the levelling of distinctive OE case endings and the simplification of declensions;
- (b) the progressive erasing of OE grammatical gender, firstly regarding the choice of third person singular personal pronouns, and later in connection with the collapse of the declensional system;

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(c) the early extension in Northern and North-East Midland texts of morphological innovations that would later reach London and become part of a supra-regional standard, like, among others, *-es* as noun plural marker, the levelling of *him* for *hine* in the third person masculine personal pronoun, the present indicative third person singular ending *-(e)s*, the subject form of the feminine personal pronoun *she* (*sho*, *scho*, *3ho* in the North), as well as the *th-* forms for the plural third person personal pronoun (< ON *þei*, *þeirra*, *þeim*), and the reflexes of Germanic **ar-* in the paradigm of *to be*.¹

There is, however, only partial agreement on the reasons that lie behind such an apparently fast diffusion of changes. Many would accept that the particular linguistic circumstances surrounding contact between English and Norse may lie behind some of these processes. Indeed, mutual intelligibility in some contexts, together with the social and cultural equality of both speech communities, and the existence of a widespread situation of 'social bilingualism without diglossia' in areas of the Danelaw may have led to the intense mutual influence of both linguistic systems at the lexical and morphological levels. In fact, some of the above-mentioned innovations, particularly those in (c), could be traced to Norse influence, while those involving simplification and levelling could be put down to the expected pressure of communication and accommodation in contact situations, which tend to favour simpler morphological structures.²

¹ The transition from Old to Middle English is a fundamental period in the history of the English language and, as such, is extensively discussed in all textbooks on the subject. See, among others, Alastair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 157, 222; Roger Lass, 'Phonology and Morphology', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. II: 1066–1476, ed. by Norman F. Blake (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 25–31; Francisco Fernández, *Historia de la lengua inglesa* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 298–335; Julia Fernández Cuesta and María Nieves Rodríguez Ledesma, 'Dialectología del inglés medieval: niveles fonético-grafémico y morfológico', in *Lingüística Histórica Inglesa*, ed. by Isabel de la Cruz and F. Javier Martín Arista (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 473–95. On grammatical and natural gender, see also Charles Jones, *Grammatical Gender in English: 950 to 1250* (London, 1988) and Trinidad Guzmán González, 'The Category of Gender in Old and Middle English: A Reappraisal', in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Selim/Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Selim*, ed. by Antonio León Sendra (Córdoba, 1993), pp. 103–13; Trinidad Guzmán González, 'On the Grammatical Category of Gender in Old and Middle English Again: Of Linguistics, Texts and Starships', *The Grove*, 8 (2001), 95–110; and Anne Curzan, *Gender Shifts in the History of English* (Cambridge, 2003).

² Bibliography on the effects of contact between English and Norse is also vast; see, among many other comprehensive accounts, B. H. Haven, 'The Historical Implications of the Scandinavian Linguistic Element in English: A Theoretical Evaluation', *North-West European Language*

Not all scholars, however, would endorse such contact-induced proposals as the theory of *pidginization* or the *creolization* hypothesis, which have been subject to intense debate in the last two decades. The former explains processes of simplification, like some of the above-mentioned, on the grounds of a non-code-switching type of contact between Old English and Old Norse. Mutual intelligibility between speakers of the two genetically and structurally related Germanic languages that coexisted in the Danelaw could have been hindered by the existence of divergent inflectional endings, which, accordingly, tended to be dropped in both systems so as to facilitate the success of communication. The *creolization* hypothesis claims that the simplified spoken contact language that resulted from *pidginization* would have evolved into a kind of Danish-English creole. At first, the use of this variety must have been restricted to matters of immediate interest to the local Anglo-Danish communities; later, when the creole stabilized, it became a useful form of communication between speakers of different regional extraction, immigrants to the court of the Scandinavian king Cnut (1016–35). The employment of this supraregional spoken koine in written documents was possibly hindered by the existence of a late West-Saxon *Schriftsprache*, which, promoted in the Benedictine reformed houses, coexisted diglossically with the spoken lingua franca, although some of its features survived in the East Midlands and London throughout ME and became part of the standard.³

Evolution, 4 (1984), 53–95; David Burnley, 'Lexis and Semantics', in *Cambridge History of the English Language*, II, ed. by Blake, pp. 409–99; Dieter Kastovsky, 'Semantics and Vocabulary', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. I: *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. by Richard M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 290–408; Matthew Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 89–105; Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 196–201; Richard Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts* (Tempe, 2003), pp. 210–13; Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, *Sociolingüística Histórica* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 210–13, 259–60; M^a Dolores Pérez-Raja, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Connection: Reading between Lines and Layers', *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 55 (2007), 47–67.

³ On *pidginization* and *creolization*, see, among others, James Milroy, 'The History of English in the British Isles', in *Language in the British Isles*, ed. by Peter Trudgill (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 11–12; Sándor Rot, 'Old English–Old Scandinavian Plurilingualism on the Territory of the Danelaw and the Results of its Linguistic Interference on the Morphological Level of English', in *Eastern European Contributions to Scandinavian Linguistics*, ed. by E. Håkon Jahr (Oslo, 1997), pp. 47–61; Patricia Poussa, 'The Evolution of Early Standard English: The Creolization Hypothesis', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 14 (1982), 69–85. These proposals were criticized by

It is not our purpose in this paper to ascertain the soundness of these proposals, but to speculate on the possible application of another theoretical construct to the interpretation of the hasty diffusion of early ME innovations in parts of the North and North-East Midlands, namely the social-network hypothesis as applied by James and Lesley Milroy in the 1980s and 1990s to the interpretation of language variation and change. The authors proposed that individuals experience pressures to maintain the linguistic variety that they normally use; they are exerted by the members of their own social network: those related to them by kinship, friendship, etc. This norm-enforcing pressure is stronger when the ties between them are dense and the network is close knit: virtually everybody knows everybody else in the group and their mutual relationship affects more than one sphere (profession, family, acquaintance, etc.). In contemporary western societies, these situations are common at the highest and lowest layers and usually result in resistance to innovations. There are, however, many socially and geographically mobile speakers falling in between. These individuals, by virtue of their social and spatial mobility, may establish weak ties within loose-knit networks and, as a result, are more exposed to linguistic pressures originating outside the group. The conclusion reached by James and Lesley Milroy is that loose-knit networks favour the diffusion of innovations and that the weak ties between speakers provide the bridges for linguistic features to spread. They favour the establishment of interpersonal contacts between a great

Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman in *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley, 1988). Firstly, creolization would require that OE was abandoned as a native language and replaced by the new contact-induced variety; this is rejected on the grounds that the 'norsified English' of the Danelaw, in the opinion of Thomason and Kaufman, was not 'qualitatively different from Southern English' (p. 303). They also claim that the mere existence of simplification under contact conditions does not qualify a variety as pidgin or creole and that the structural and typological similarities between OE and ON would never have required 'such an extreme response to communication difficulties' as the suggested 'drastic elimination of linguistic complexities' (p. 307). See also Manfred Görlach, 'Middle English — a Creole?', in *Linguistics Across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of his Fiftieth Birthday*, ed. by D. Kastovsky and A. Szwedek, 2 vols (Berlin, 1986), I, 329–44; James Milroy, 'Linguistic Ideology and the Anglo-Saxon Lineage of English', in *Speech: Past and Present*, ed. by J. Klemola, M. Kytö, and M. Rissanen (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 169–86; John Hines, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context?', in *Language Contact in the British Isles*, ed. by P. S. Ureland and G. Broderick (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 403–27; Bruce Mitchell, 'The Englishness of Old English', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. Godden and others (Oxford, 1994), pp. 163–81; Cynthia L. Allen, 'Middle English Case Loss and the "Creolization" Hypothesis', *English Language and Linguistics*, 1 (1997), 63–89; Townend, 'Viking Age England', pp. 91–92; Townend, *Language and History*, pp. 198–99; Dance, *Words Derived*, pp. 293–95.

number of speakers — greater at least than those afforded by strong ties in close-knit communities — they are established with a lot less effort, and finally, they facilitate contact between a diversity of speakers.⁴

In addition to applying this sociological construct to tracing the diffusion of changes in progress, especially in Belfast, James and Lesley Milroy also proposed a macro-sociolinguistic use of the concept, which may become suitable to historical sociolinguistic research. Besides the obvious links between different types of networks and social structures, there is a possible connection between historical socio-economic circumstances and the slower or faster rate of diffusion of linguistic innovations in the past: industrialization, urbanization, epidemics, internal wars, immigration, and contact with foreign communities are some of the factors that may have favoured the loosening of close-knit networks and the increase of weak ties between speakers, which, both in the present and in the past, are basic conditions for the diffusion of linguistic changes within a community.⁵ The linguistic

⁴ See James Milroy and Lesley Milroy, 'Linguistic Change, Social Network and Speaker Innovation', *Journal of Linguistics*, 21 (1985), 363–66; Lesley Milroy, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford, 1987), p. 209; Lesley Milroy, 'Social Networks', in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. by J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (Oxford, 2002), pp. 549–72; Lesley Milroy and Sue Margrain, 'Vernacular Language Loyalty and Social Network', *Language in Society*, 9 (1980), 43–70; Lesley Milroy and James Milroy, 'Social Network and Social Class: Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic Model', *Language in Society*, 21 (1992), 5–10; Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 'Social Network Analysis and the History of English', *European Journal of English Studies*, 4 (2000), 211–16.

⁵ Such macro-sociolinguistic application extends also to the possible relationship between the basic patterning of social networks in historical communities and the long-term development of changes in the history of the languages affected: small and isolated communities from the past, hardly ever affected by colonization and contact with other groups, whose speakers have historically related to one another by means of strong ties, would not exhibit as many changes (or as many abrupt ones) as those communities which have historically been opened to external influence, have been less socially stable, and whose speakers have had more opportunities to establish loose-knit networks. James Milroy and Lesley Milroy draw a well-known example by comparing Icelandic, a prototypical conservative language with few changes attested since the late thirteenth century, and English, which has undergone radical changes in grammar and phonology during the last seven centuries, and try to relate the differences to the distinctive social patterning historically prevalent in both communities. In medieval Iceland — where Christianity was late to arrive — institutions tended to be highly communal and social differences were not sharp. Textual evidence from the period is interesting in this respect. In the sagas, for instance, a complete genealogy of the main characters is given when they are introduced for the first time, and attention is often paid to ancestors, relatives, friends, and acquaintances, which interrelate with one another in complex ways, both within a single text and intertextually. This may be taken as a clue that close-knit networks must

effect of some of these historical circumstances has been traced in a number of western languages like, among others, English and Spanish.

For historians of the English language London epitomizes the relationship between socio-economic transformation and diffusion of linguistic innovations in the late medieval and early modern periods. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it became a centre for the exportation of corn, wool, and textiles, within a large international network that spread into the Netherlands and the North Sea, to such an extent that commerce, manufactures, and national wealth started to be concentrated in the area. Such prosperity is reflected in demography, with the population rising to nearly eighty thousand in 1545. The increase in population was mainly due to growing immigration from all over the country. All these circumstances must have favoured the development of loose-knit social networks and the increase of weak ties between individuals, so that changes easily reached London or emanated from it, and the town became the most innovative area in social and linguistic terms.⁶ Jeremy Smith, among others, has recently studied the role of social networks in the diffusion of linguistic innovations and has connected the theory to the *actuation* of sound changes in different periods of the history of English. As regards the linguistic effects of London's socio-economic development, he plausibly claims that phonetic changes, like the Great Vowel Shift, could have been implemented through contact between speakers with different prototypical networks and vowel systems: socially aspirant, weakly tied speakers tended to

have been common and that their members, even if they belonged to faraway geographical communities, could have been strongly tied to one another on the basis of kinship, friendship (or, very often, enmity), acquaintance, etc. This is posited by the authors as a sensible reason behind the conservative maintenance for centuries of language norms in Icelandic. The sociological history of English is quite different, since the language was affected by the successive settlement of Danes (ninth to tenth centuries) and Normans (eleventh to thirteenth centuries). James and Lesley Milroy claim that the coexistence of the native population with new settlers would have favoured the loosening of social networks and the establishment of weak ties between speakers that have accompanied innovation and change all along the history of English. See Milroy and Milroy, 'Linguistic Change', pp. 375–78; see also Peter Trudgill, 'Linguistic and Social Typology', in *Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. by Chambers, Trudgill, and Schilling-Estes, pp. 709, 723.

⁶ On London in the early modern period, see, among others, *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. by A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London, 1986); Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, 'A Corpus of Early Modern Standard English in a Socio-Historical Perspective', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 90 (1989), 67–110; Derek Keene, 'Metropolitan Values: Migration, Mobility and Cultural Norms, London 1100–1700', in *The Development of Standard English, 1300–1800: Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts*, ed. by Laura Wright (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 93–114.

imitate the repertoire of those Londoners whose social status they wished to emulate, and this process unchained a series of phonetic hyperadaptations which eventually led to completion of the shift.⁷

In the field of Hispanic studies — moving back to the Middle Ages — Ralph Penny has proposed that the process of Reconquest by northern Christians of southern Muslim Spain must have been accompanied by an intense displacement of the Castilian population southwards. This may have implied, according to Penny, that the prototypical networks that characterized personal relationships while these speakers inhabited the self-contained northern regions of the peninsula could have dissolved into looser ones as soon as they occupied the central and southern areas. A well-acknowledged result of this new sociological reality was the quick adoption in the reconquered territories of socio-political innovations, like the replacement of Roman codes by Germanic customary law, and a certain degree of receptivity towards Muslim influences. Penny also believes that some linguistic developments in Castilian romance could be related to the new patterning of social networks: for instance, the change from Latin initial [f-], which still remains in the conservative northern varieties of Spanish, into [h-], typical of early Castilian.⁸

The combined effect of immigration and urbanization over social structure and, indirectly, over language change has also been advanced in connection with the history of medieval Spanish. The way to Compostela, which became an important source of economic and commercial development, attracted a high number of Frankish and Occitan newcomers, whose presence in Aragon, Navarre, and the eastern parts of Castile must have contributed to shaping anew the social structure of these areas. Burgos, in particular, must have enjoyed an intense economic and demographic development, both because it remained a border settlement during the early stages of the Reconquest and because it was to become an important landmark in the route. There is evidence that the town attracted socially mobile

⁷ Jeremy Smith, *Sound Change and the History of English* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 127–39. Some linguistic correlates of these socio-economic circumstances have also been advanced by, among others, Terttu Nevalainen, ‘Mobility, Social Networks and Language Change in Early Modern England’, *European Journal of English Studies*, 4 (2000), 253–64; Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, ‘The Changing Role of London on the Linguistic Map of Tudor and Stuart England’, in *The History of English in a Social Context: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger (Berlin, 2000), pp. 280–337; Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 2003), pp. 157–84; and Conde-Silvestre, *Sociolingüística Histórica*, pp. 183–87.

⁸ Ralph Penny, *Variation and Change in Spanish* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 63–67. See also Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de Gramática Histórica del Español* (Madrid, 1918), pp. 472–82.

immigrants —merchants and craftsmen — and that their settlement must have had social and linguistic consequences. Burgos belonged to an innovative linguistic area, at least in contrast to the conservative northern varieties, and it is possible that people with loose-knit networks from the area contributed to diffusing the linguistic innovations coined there through their weak ties with speakers from neighbouring zones.⁹ In this respect, Lodaes refers to a twelfth-century royal document that exempted merchants from paying customs duties and taxes;¹⁰ this must have resulted in a greater freedom of movement all over the kingdom, which facilitated the widespread formation of an extended network of trading and social relationships, whose loose-knit nature possibly contributed to the diffusion of linguistic innovations.

Society and Economy in England, c. 900–c. 1100

Did similar circumstances apply in areas of the North and North-East Midlands between c. 900 and c. 1100? Could they have accompanied the quick diffusion of some language changes — as the above-mentioned — in the transition from OE to ME? In the following pages, we will review some of the processes that affected the English socio-economic landscape between c. 900 and c. 1100, a period of intense demographic and socio-economic expansion, in the belief that they may allow us to propose a possible macro-sociolinguistic application of social network theory.

Population Merging and the Formation of Nucleated Villages

One of these processes was population merging. Archaeological and documentary evidence prove that between the tenth and eleventh centuries there was a gradual but continuous desertion of dispersed farmsteads and hamlets and a concentration of people into larger villages with common fields. This process was certainly promoted by the extension of cultivated land at the expense of woodland and pasture, as well as by a steady demographic increase, and it must have implied some

⁹ See Brian Imhoff, 'Socio-Historic Network Ties and Medieval Navarro-Aragonese', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 101 (2000), 443–50; Francisco Moreno Fernández, *Historia social de las lenguas de España* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 111.

¹⁰ Juan Ramón Lodaes Marrodán, 'Lengua y economía en la Castilla medieval', in *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. by G. García Turza and others, 2 vols (Logroño, 1998), II, 507–12.

displacement of population: from the original pre-tenth-century settlements to new villages and towns. It is likely that a continuous population growth also contributed to the formation of 'nucleated villages' — as the process is often labelled — to the extent that by the time of *Domesday Book* (1086) patches of concentrated population tended to converge in the areas of Scandinavian settlement, like the East Midlands and the North-East.¹¹

The Development of Trade, Migration, and Urbanization

Domesday Book also evinces that almost 10 per cent of the population lived in towns by 1086 (before 850 the percentage was 2) and that at least seventeen out of nearly one hundred *burhs* could have had two thousand inhabitants or more. Excluding London, which must have already been the largest of towns with more than ten thousand people, a number of them concentrated in the North, where York had possibly more than six thousand people (see below), the North-East Midlands, and East Anglia, with Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Norwich, Bury, and Colchester as outstanding centres.¹² The burgeoning of town life in areas of the Danelaw suggests that the Scandinavian settlers — even if they were not originally responsible for the development of town life in the area — must have played some role: either because their raids put into circulation the coins and jewelry that had remained hoarded and, by redistributing these treasures, they contributed to fostering a money economy, or, later, through their involvement in European trade, which opened the towns to a complex network of communications all along north-western Europe.¹³ The growth of towns must have attracted immigrants from all sections of society, and it is not unlikely that, together with

¹¹ See M. H. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 34; H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 93; Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'People and Land in the Middle Ages, 1066–1500', in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, ed. by R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin (London, 1990), pp. 62–121 (p. 93); Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850–1520* (Harmondsworth, 2003), p. 19.

¹² See Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change* (London, 1978), p. 8; Tim Unwin, 'Towns and Trade, 1066–1500', in *An Historical Geography*, ed. by Dodgshon and Butlin, pp. 123–50 (p. 127), David A. Hinton, 'The Large Towns, 600–1300', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 1: 600–1540, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 217–43; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 62–63, 94–99.

¹³ Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 48.

demography and the expansion of land in agricultural use, it contributed to increasing the mobility of English villagers: from the well-settled to the newly colonized areas, from the countryside to the town or to villages where new land was available and markets were weekly celebrated, in addition to the daily movements of people between neighbouring settlements. The result — far from the mythologized idea prevailing in modern, industrialized societies, that medieval communities were fairly stable — is, according to Miller and Hatcher, that ‘medieval villages were anything but closed communities’ and that mobility and loose affiliation with one’s village were much greater than is commonly assumed.¹⁴

Social Mobility

There is also evidence that English society between 900 and 1100 allowed for some degree of mobility, even if it was not as flexible as it would become later (in the early modern period, for instance). Here are some clues touching on different social layers.

(a) Although peasants in late Anglo-Saxon England still carried the burden of labour service and productivity, particularly *ceorls*, it has been claimed that they found some benefit from the development of town and trade. Contact with the market meant that they could get some surplus from the sale of products, which could have allowed them to hire smaller peasants (*cotsetla*).¹⁵ It is also possible to infer from textual evidence that *ceorls* had opportunities to rise in the social scale: law-codes and political tracts argue that they could not become *thegns* by merely acquiring ornamented arms and emphasize that they also needed ‘hida fullice agenes landes, bellan ond burhgeat, setl ond sundornote on cynges healle’. The implication is that many of them could have been moving upwards socially without all of these attributes.¹⁶

¹⁴ Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p. 41; see also R. Holt, ‘Society and Population, 600–1300’, in *The Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Palliser, pp. 79–104.

¹⁵ Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 38–39.

¹⁶ ‘[F]ully five hides of land of his own, a bell and a castle gate, a seat and special office in the king’s hall.’ This reference is from a early eleventh-century legal compilation preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, edited and translated by Felix Liebermann under the heading *Gepýncðo* (see *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), I, 456). The translation quoted above is furnished by Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c.500–1042* (London, 1955; repr. 1968), p. 432. See also Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 77; Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Harmondsworth, 1976), p. 97.

(b) The possibility that other members of society had access to the land — and not only landlords and dependant tenants — favoured a ‘disintegration of the traditional manorial structures’ which many social historians claim to have been prominent in the Danelaw counties.¹⁷ This pattern is supported by archaeological evidence: the presence of a massive ditch at the entrance to a flamboyant Anglo-Scandinavian farmstead at Cottam (East Yorkshire) and the lack of other ditches around the site suggest that it must have been dug out ‘for status rather than defence’. The existence of such an ostentatious new farm also points towards ‘nouveau-riche farmers or old farmers identifying with a new elite’. Conversely, the evidence of non-defensive ditched enclosures in the vicinity suggests that these areas were excavated quickly, which may mean an increase in the population of the peasant farmers.¹⁸

(c) There is no doubt that *thegns* also prospered in late Anglo-Saxon England. In addition to holding a number of hides of land, they were also involved in political, administrative, military, and legal tasks within local governments, and their number seems to have increased. Nevertheless, social mobility in the case of *thegns* (and the higher aristocracy) could have followed a downward course. This was likely after the Norman Conquest when the defeated English landowners had to abandon their lands, either because they were overburdened with debt, because they had died or gone into exile, or because they were pressed by the new Norman elites to relinquish their estates. The result, according to Dyer, was that they ‘were pushed so far down the social scales that within two decades after the Conquest they joined the ranks of the freemen [...] as rich peasants’.¹⁹

(d) Place-name evidence, among other sources, has been taken by social historians as a clue that slavery progressively disappeared in the course of the eleventh century; reference to ‘settlements of freedmen’ in, for instance, *Laysingthorpe* (Lincolnshire) and *Lazenby* (Yorkshire) may imply that members of this rank came to encompass the different groups of peasants, to the point that *Domesday Book*, for instance, records a varied typology, compared to earlier descriptions of society.²⁰ At one end of the continuum there were the *villeins*, *bordars* (*bordarius*),

¹⁷ Campbell, ‘People and Land’, pp. 78–81; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 38–39.

¹⁸ J. D. Richards, *Viking Age England* (Stroud, 2000), p. 53; see also D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800–1100* (London, 2000), p. 180.

¹⁹ Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 81.

²⁰ The absence of slaves in the *Domesday* entries for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire may be taken as a clue to social mobility or be related to hesitation during the early stages of compilation. Some historians understand that the elaboration of Circuit VI advanced from Yorkshire and

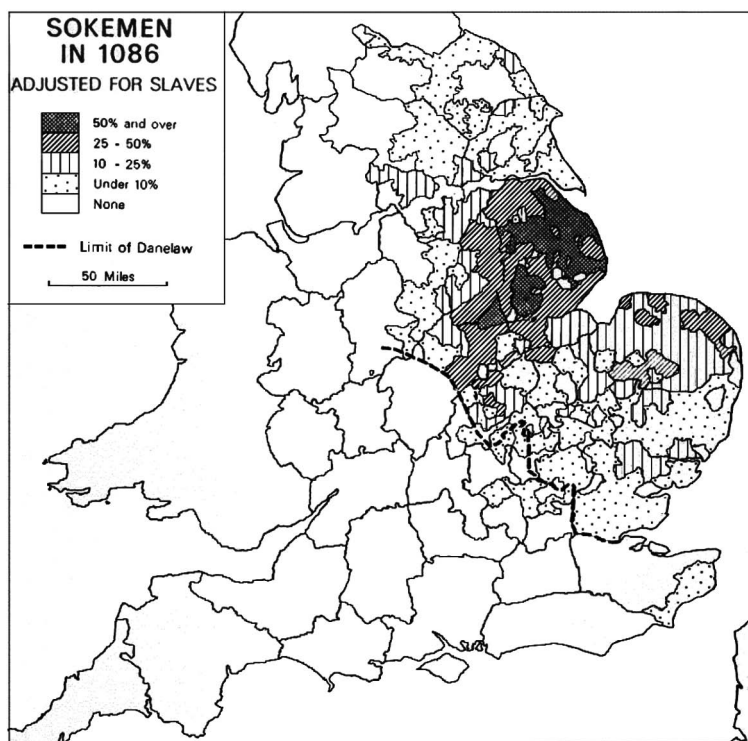
and *cottars* (*cotarius*) that still had close ties with lords and held land on demesne, over which a strict control was exercised by owners; at the other end, there were the *sokemen* (*sochemannus*) and *free men* (*liberi homines*) who, especially in the Danelaw, East Anglia, and parts of Kent, were free to go with their lands to whatever lord they wished, thus maintaining their freedom and controlling their family properties. Even if it is doubtful that they could really have disposed of any portion of land by gift, sale, and exchange, they were certainly free from the customary weekly work on the lord's land and enjoyed some kind of mobility, often becoming temporary inhabitants of towns.²¹ Interestingly, the evidence of *Domesday Book*, as interpreted by historical geographer H. Darby, reflects a strong east–west gradient in the geographical distribution of the groups of peasants with the greatest freedom and the highest mobility (see Map 1). Indeed, in 1086 over fourteen thousand freemen and over twenty-three thousand *sokemen* were holding land in some parts of East Anglia and the North-East Midlands. Their presence was especially prominent in Suffolk (44.9 per cent), Norfolk (40.4 per cent), Nottinghamshire (30.6 per cent), Leicestershire (30.4 per cent), and particularly Lincolnshire, with half the entire recorded population (50.7 per cent) enjoying this status in some areas of the county, like Lindsey.

It seems that parts of the North and the North-East Midlands — where some of the above-mentioned linguistic innovations developed hastily in the transition from OE to ME — were characterized by economic growth, had a large and growing population, with some areas densely settled, whose ordinary inhabitants — *ceorls* and, later, *sokemen* — enjoyed some freedom and mobility. The following words by Bruce Campbell are illuminating in this respect: 'New social and economic developments diffused from the free to the unfree [districts] and from the weakly manorialized to the strongly manorialized, thus subtly transforming the social and economic geography of the country.'²² A parallel can be established

Lincolnshire, with no recorded slaves, to Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, with twenty and twenty-four respectively, and have proposed that the compilers only began to note down slaves as the work progressed, provided that the neighbouring counties of Cambridgeshire and Northampton comprise 541 and 737 respectively. See Darby, *Domesday England*, p. 338; David Roffe, 'Domesday Book and Northern Society', *EHR*, 100 (1985), 310–40.

²¹ On the social category of *sokemen*, see Stephen Baxter in this volume. See also Michael Wood, *Domesday England: A Search for the Roots of England* (London, 1987), p. 189; R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London, 1997); D. R. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 153–55, 200.

²² Campbell, 'People and Land', p. 81.



Map 1. Distribution of *sokemen* in 1086, from Darby, *Domesday England*, p. 65. Reproduced with kind permission from Cambridge University Press.

between the progress of socio-economic innovations and the effect that loose-knit networks and weak ties tend to have over language variation and change. In our opinion it would make sense if the phrase 'linguistic developments' was added at the beginning of the paragraph.

York: A Case Study

We would like to close this review of socio-economic circumstances and their possible effects on language development by briefly looking at the situation of York, a populated northern town that probably admitted some relative loosening of network structures in this period. Although historians do not claim that the Scandinavian settlement of York from 866 immediately affected the industrialization and urban development of the city, this event was to become a landmark in the

history of late Anglo-Saxon England. Richards, echoing Alcuin's 'On the Saints of the Church of York', describes tenth-century York as a 'massive cosmopolitan emporia',²³ whose social, political, and economic development may mirror that of London in the late medieval and early modern periods: as a large and important urban centre that catalyzed some of the innovations that later were to diffuse throughout neighbouring areas. A broad evaluation of historical and archaeological sources suggests that the Vikings did provide the indirect stimulus to transform the original Anglo-Saxon town by redistributing wealth and fostering its urban growth, as well as by promoting the activity of craftsmen, traders, etc.²⁴ Here are some landmarks in the socio-economic development of tenth-century York, which, in parallel to the general indicators mentioned above, could have contributed to make of it an innovative area in social and linguistic terms.

(a) Being a centre of government, a permanent seat of kings and attendant bureaucracy as well as a minting and commercial area, York attracted numerous visitors from the hinterland, from elsewhere in England and even from far beyond the sea. Mobility within and from the city must have been accelerated by an incipient industrial activity, which favoured the supply and distribution of raw materials on both a regional and an international level.²⁵ Historical sources refer to the city's populous character, like the well-known passage in the *Life of St Oswald* where York is described as 'inedicibiliter est repleta, et mercatorum gazis locupleta qui undique adveniunt, maxime ex Danorum gente'.²⁶ The mercantile wealth of the city also finds confirmation in the historical sources. A passage in the eleventh-century *Rights and Laws*, the survey of the lands and privileges of the Norman Archbishop Thomas of York (1070–86), depicts what may have been the hall of a commercial guild with 'merchants

²³ Richards, *Viking Age*, p. 59.

²⁴ Richards, *Viking Age*, pp. 59–78, 103–20. See also Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, pp. 298–341; Peter Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 178–79; as well as the papers collected in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by R. A. Hall and others (York, 2004).

²⁵ Richards, *Viking Age*, pp. 121–34; see also A. Hall and H. Kenward, 'Setting People in their Environment: Plant and Animal Remains from Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Hall and others, pp. 372–426; A. Mainmann and N. Rogers, 'Craft and Economy in Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *ibid.*, pp. 459–83.

²⁶ '[C]rammed beyond expression, and enriched with the treasures of merchants, who come from all parts, but above all from the Danish people.' *Vita Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by J. Raine, 3 vols (London, 1879–94), I, 454.

coming to York with horses or wagons to pay toll, to sales of fish and grain in Walmgate and Fishergate, and to a fishery which paid tax to the archbishop'.²⁷ (b) A definite indication of the status of York as a centre of economic power and of its size is the distribution of land within and around the city. In *Domesday Book* York is assigned a total of 1607 dwellings (*mansiones*), which has allowed historical geographers to reconstruct an estimated population of between six thousand and nine thousand people, being therefore one of the largest towns at the end of the Anglo-Scandinavian period.²⁸ In fact, the distribution of the urban land and its hinterland into smaller units — *bovate*, *carucate*, *ploxland*, *oxgangs* — indicates an increasingly regular settlement, as well as a carefully planned organization of territorial division, probably determined by local custom. (c) Finally, the massive presence of archaeological findings related to a wide variety of socio-economic activities (iron, metal, leather, and bone or antler working, etc.) is indeed a material manifestation of a period of intense contact. The gradual collection of artefacts and organic materials at the superimposed levels 4B (c. 930–75) and 5B (c. 975–c. 1050) at the backyards of the Coppergate tenements and Lloyds Bank shows that these remains were accumulated rapidly and that occupation, accordingly, must have been intensive. Richards has suggested that the tremendous variety of craft activities in the tenements indicated by the remains may be a clue 'that the buildings were rented out to craftsmen, rather than each being permanently occupied by one individual'.²⁹ We think that Richards's proposal provides us with a useful hint on the possible connections between the social reality of the town (as reconstructed through archaeology) and the sociolinguistic dimension. The clues that rents were paid point to the temporary presence in the tenements of mobile individuals (craftsmen, merchants, traders, etc.) who must have established weak ties with the local population.

Conclusion

The impossibility of actually tracing the real connection between these socio-economic circumstances and the diffusion of linguistic changes in the transition

²⁷ D. Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Hall and others, pp. 305–24.

²⁸ Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York', p. 321.

²⁹ Richards, *Viking Age*, p. 65; see also Patrick Ottaway, *Anglo-Scandinavian Ironwork from 16–22 Coppergate* (London, 1992), p. 462.

from OE to ME should not deter us from establishing a plausible, albeit hypothetical, conclusion. In fact, there is evidence that some areas of the North and the North-East Midlands were ahead as regards social and economic development. Not only were they highly populated in contrast to the rest of England at the time, but they also contained prosperous towns, like York or Lincoln, which attracted temporary inhabitants or permanent settlers. Moreover, contemporary sources show that the proportion of *sokemen* — the new group of peasants, with wholly recognized social rights and clear chances of social and geographical mobility — was much higher in some of these counties, particularly Lincolnshire, than anywhere else. The possibility that these peculiar socio-economic characteristics can correlate with the loosening of close social-networks — at least in contrast to those prevalent in other parts of England — and that, accordingly, the ties between individuals were weakened, especially in the towns, opens the ground for speculating on the macro-sociolinguistic connection of this new framework of interpersonal relations to the innovative quality of those areas, insofar as such a pattern has been qualified as fundamental in the diffusion of linguistic innovations in other contexts.

LINGUISTIC CONTIGUITIES: ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 1060–1220

Orietta Da Rold and Mary Swan

Introduction

This article draws on the research project ‘The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220’ to frame research questions about the conceptualization of language use and language choice in the century and a half after the Norman Conquest, about the limits of the terminology currently available to articulate the categories in question, and about the data available for this task.¹ Its focus, and case study, is one of the Project’s manuscripts which best exemplifies both the continuing production of Old English in the twelfth century and its complex interactions with the other languages of England. We will explore how the concept of multilingualism might be expressed — and scrutinized — in this context through a detailed discussion of a single folio and an overview of the decisions the Project has taken about how to manage and organize the manuscript data. Our aim in the Project catalogue, and in this article, is to present the data in a way which will allow people to ask more questions about language use in England in the twelfth century.

The ‘Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220’ Project began in May 2005 and was funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council for five years. Drawing on work already published by others and on fresh examination of each manuscript by the team, the Project produced a searchable catalogue

¹ The Project’s co-directors were Elaine Treharne, Mary Swan, Orietta Da Rold, and Joanna Story, and its Research Associate was Takako Kato. For full details of the Project’s work, see <<http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220>>. Elaine Treharne worked with the authors to supply the data for this article.

of manuscripts containing English produced between 1060 and 1220. There are over two hundred manuscripts in the Project's list, and over eight hundred texts in these which have pre-Conquest English roots.

The Project is dealing, therefore, with a very large body of material which in the past has often been overlooked, but which is vital evidence for language use in England from the later eleventh century to the early thirteenth. Scholarly enquiry frames its questions, and indeed identifies its subject, with reference to accepted fields of enquiry which themselves rely on categories defined by their difference, such as Old English and Middle English, English and French, original text and copy. Much of the work of the Project, and of any attempt to conceptualize post-Conquest English manuscripts, requires the reconsideration both of these categories and of their interrelationships. It also necessitates the construction of new, provisional categories for data management and comparison. This article reflects our current thoughts on the problems associated with this necessary deployment of categories and our working strategies for addressing them.

Towards an Electronic Catalogue

It is universally accepted that in order to do a search, one has to search for something. From this viewpoint categories are fundamental concepts which have to be attributed to data with a synthetic a priori judgement in order to assist in the process of organizing and searching the data effectively. The definition of these categories, however, is problematic, the more so if one wishes to strike a balance between providing information about the manuscript itself and the actual interpretation of the data. The selection entails two, quite different, cognitive processes: on the one hand, the description of the object and, on the other, the interpretation of the data.

Description and interpretation are two separate activities, which may complement each other, but are still distinct. This is a crucial consideration when the catalogue of a research project is being designed. On the one hand we have specific questions to answer, but yet on the other we do not want to force the interpretation of the data and constrain information into uncomfortable categories or labels. Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33 is a case in point and the questions which are raised by how scribes laid the text on the page are worthy of detailed discussion and scrutiny. Our catalogue must allow a scholar to use its data in order to explore these questions further. In order to exemplify our ideas it may be useful to turn to a short description of the manuscript and of one particular folio.

The Manuscript

Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33 is a collection of Old English homilies and saints' lives, exactly the sorts of functional Anglo-Saxon texts which appear in many of the Project's manuscripts and which have such a long life after 1066. It includes some thirty-nine texts by Ælfric of Eynsham, the prolific late tenth- to early eleventh-century English writer and advocate of reformed Benedictine monasticism, directions on reciting the penitential psalms, and a set of metrical apothegms. MS Ii. 1. 33's main texts are annotated in English, French, and Latin, and both its main text and annotations were written in the second half of the twelfth century. The place or places of writing of the main text and annotations are not known for certain; Eastern and South-Eastern origins have been suggested on the basis of some of the scribal hands, and the most convincing candidates to date are St Augustine's Canterbury, or perhaps Rochester, for the making of the manuscript, and then a move to somewhere else, possibly, although not necessarily, Ely.²

Neil Ker identified the work of two scribes in the manuscript.³ William Schipper subsequently made a case for Ker's scribe 2 being two separate individuals.⁴ In 2004, Oliver Traxel argued that it is possible to distinguish a fourth scribe in the manuscript.⁵ We would agree with Neil Ker that there are in fact two scribes. Traxel's scribe 4 is probably the same person as his scribe 1, whose writing, we believe, changes quite dramatically over a fairly short space of time, and his scribes

² Oliver Traxel, *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33* (Frankfurt, 2004), is the most thorough study of the manuscript to date. We are grateful to Dr Traxel for providing us with his data and for discussing the manuscript with us. Traxel (*ibid.*, p. 223) proposes St Augustine's, Canterbury, as a possible place of origin for the manuscript and suggests that it was commissioned for Ely, perhaps for private reading. See also William Schipper, 'A Composite Old English Homiliary from Ely: Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS Ii. 1. 33', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1983), 285–98, and, for an argument in favour of Rochester or Christ Church, Canterbury as the place of origin and against Ely as the provenance, see Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Dates and Origins of Three Twelfth-Century Old English Manuscripts', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 227–53 (pp. 240–43). Mary Richards's review of Traxel (*JEGP*, 106 (2007), 134–36) offers possible additional circumstantial evidence for Rochester as the place of origin. John Frankis, in 'Anglo-Norman Annotations in an Anglo-Saxon Manuscript', *Leeds Studies in English*, 38 (2007), 101–33, proposes a connection with Barnwell, Cambridgeshire.

³ N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 27.

⁴ Schipper, 'Composite Old English Homiliary from Ely', pp. 287–91.

⁵ Traxel, *Language Change*, pp. 37–38.

2 and 3 are the same person. MS li. 1. 33 shares a scribe (Traxel's and our scribe 1) with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 367 part 2, which was written at a so far unidentified location and subsequently was sent somewhere else, perhaps to Worcester.⁶

Folio 70^v

This folio of the manuscript is particularly relevant for considerations of multilingualism because its languages are so very contiguous. Its main text is from towards the end of the passion section of Ælfric's *Life of Andrew*,⁷ and is written by scribe 2. As can be seen from Plate 1, it contains three different registers of annotation.

1. Interlinear additions and corrections. These include, on line 5, 'hine' marked for insertion after '7', which Traxel identifies as being by scribe 2, the scribe of the main text. On line 15 'stratocles'⁸ and on line 16 'swa' are in our view by scribe 1,⁹ although they are not in identical ink, which would argue for their being written in separate stints.

2. Left-hand margin. This annotation is written, we believe, by scribe 1.¹⁰ It is in a version of English usually identified as later than that of the main text, which Traxel identifies as 'Middle English', and it has been separately ruled¹¹ and marked for insertion by a cross above 'god', line 18. Its contents are a short narrative about Maximilla, who features in some versions of Andrew's story, but not in that by Ælfric. The content of this annotation is almost certainly derived from a Latin version of the *Life of Andrew* and translated into English either for this purpose or for some anterior use.

3. Bottom of page. This annotation is also written by our scribe 1, but this time in Old French, and it too has been separately ruled.¹² It is a short verse on the

⁶ See Treharne, 'Dates and Origins'.

⁷ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s., 17 (Oxford, 1997), pp. 507–19.

⁸ This is the name of a character in the main narrative who is not named by Ælfric. The same name is also supplied as an annotation on fol. 69^v, line 18. See Traxel, *Language Change*, p. 66.

⁹ Traxel ascribes 'swa' to either scribe 1 or to his scribe 4, which we consider to be scribe 1 in a slightly later phase.

¹⁰ Traxel ascribes it to his scribe 4.

¹¹ See Traxel, *Language Change*, pp. 68–77.

¹² Traxel, *Language Change*, p. 78, n. 103.

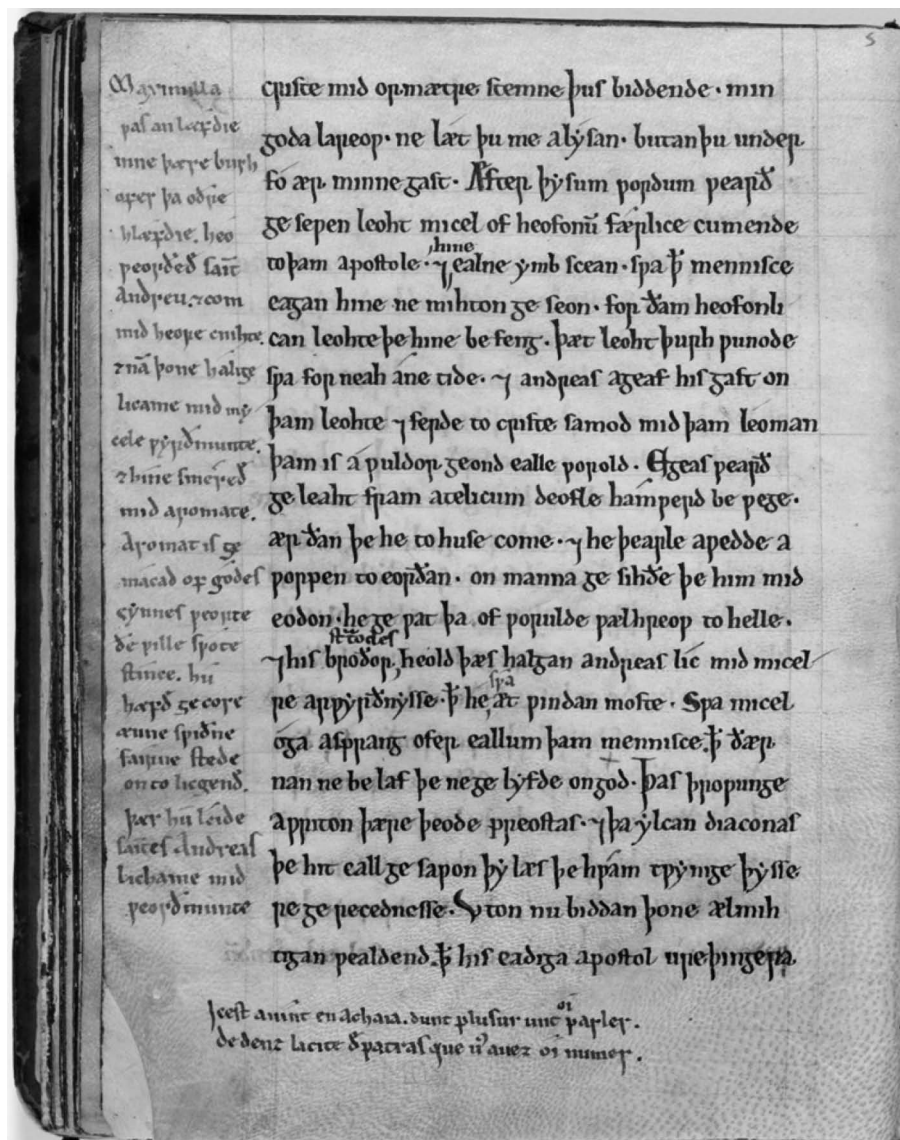


Figure 1. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, First Series, XXXVIII, 'St Andrew', Cambridge University Library, MS li. 1. 33, fol. 70^r; s.xii.2. Reproduced with the permission of Cambridge University Library.

location of the action of the main narrative. As with the 'Middle English' addition, this material is in some Latin versions of the Andrew story, but not Ælfric's.¹³

If our attributions are accepted, our scribe 1 (who equals Traxel's scribes 1 and 4) intervenes in this manuscript at least nine times: (1) writing the main text of some parts; (2) writing the Latin marginal note on fol. 25^r (and here, scribe 1 is annotating their own work, since they wrote the main text of fol. 25^r); (3) writing the first layer of interlinear additions on fol. 70^v; (4) writing another layer of interlinear additions on fol. 70^v; (5) writing the Middle English marginal note on fol. 70^v; (6) writing the French marginal note on fol. 70^v; (7) writing the French marginal note on fol. 120^r; (8) writing the Latin annotation on fol. 213^r; and (9) writing the Latin annotation on fol. 218^r.

As MS Ii. 1. 33, fol. 70^v reminds us so powerfully, in our Catalogue it is extremely important to avoid giving prominence to one text on a page over another or to treat any set of texts in a hierarchical way. It is also equally important to record linguistic variation to allow for searches across languages. Scribes were often working with more than one language, and only by mapping this phenomenon in its own right will we be able to start to understand how these languages coexist within diverse writing environments in twelfth-century manuscripts and beyond. Nine other manuscripts, datable between the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, exhibit a similar scenario, where scribes gloss Old English text in English, Latin, and French.¹⁴ It is therefore

¹³ Traxel, *Language Change*, pp. 75–76, argues for signs of French influence on the Middle English in this passage. There is, interestingly, another Old French annotation in the manuscript (fol. 120^r), which we also believe to be by scribe 1. This second Old French addition is the proverbial sayings of 'the peasant' and is also found in the metrical *Life of St Giles* (Traxel, *Language Change*, p. 106). The main text of 120^r is another Ælfrician hagiographical composition: 'Memory of Saints' from his *Lives of Saints* collection. Traxel suggests that the Old French annotation on fol. 120^r could be a comment on virtues and saints and the risk of them turning bad. See Traxel, *Language Change*, pp. 105–11, but note the contradiction between *ibid.*, p. 79: 'Scribe 4 was definitely not the author of the second Old French passage in CUL Ii. 1. 33, which is found on 120^r, and p. 106: 'The handwriting [of the Old French addition on fol. 120^r] is identical to that used for the earlier Old French passage in this manuscript, which suggests that Scribe 4 was responsible for this addition, too.' Scribe 1 also writes Latin annotations on fols 25^r, 213^r, and 219^r (see Traxel, *Language Change*, pp. 122 and 125).

¹⁴ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.9.17; Cambridge University Library, MS Hh. 1. 10; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 365/728; Liverpool, Athenaeum Gladstone, MS 27; Maidstone Museum, MS A. 13; London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A X; London,

important to map any manifestation of multilingualism within manuscript culture in general and in our Project in particular.

Our descriptions are prepared for electronic publication by encoding relevant information in XML (Extensible Markup Language), using the standard proposed by the Text Encoding Initiative.¹⁵ The overall manuscript description is divided into units in which each relevant piece of information about the manuscript is tagged: from repository to content, physical description, origin, provenance, and bibliography. This implementation allows a flexible approach to the information which is being marked and it also modularizes the data so that information can be assembled using a template.

XML is made up of elements and attributes. Elements are the most basic units which are tagged in a text, whilst attributes are contained within an element and provide additional information about the data which is being tagged. Because of this, the information contained in the attributes is often more interesting than the elements themselves; the attributes provide the hermeneutics of the data. The tagging has to be meaningful; for instance, within the manuscript content we describe each text as an item, from the marginal glosses to the main text, and items are divided into classes according to their position on the page rather than the type of text — gloss, commentary, annotation. We indicate the language of each item. We then provide information about where the text appears, its title, rubric, incipit, and

British Library, MS Cotton Titus A IV; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Digby 20 and 53. On these manuscripts, see Ker, *Catalogue*, and Margaret Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Woodbridge, 1993). Furthermore, it would also be interesting to understand how many of the manuscripts which are gathered in Ruth J. Dean's excellent *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999) contain English. A recent count listed about 104 manuscripts datable within our Project temporal termini, but how many of them contain any English still remains to be worked out.

¹⁵ The Text Encoding Initiative is an international consortium of institutions and projects which aim to develop an 'international and interdisciplinary standard that enables libraries, museums, publishers, and individual scholars to represent a variety of literary and linguistic texts for online research, teaching, and preservation'. See *TEI: Text Encoding Initiative Consortium*, <<http://www.tei-c.org/>>. Information about elements, attributes, and classes are taken from the P5 Guidelines at *TEI*, <<http://www.tei-c.org/P5/>>. All web sites were last accessed on 29 May 2007. A number of projects in cognate fields have adopted this standard in their manuscript descriptions; see, for instance, *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*, <<http://www.sd-editions.com/AnaServer?MWMnew+0+start.anv>>. We would like to thank Wendy Scase and Rebecca Farnham, University of Birmingham, for showing us their XML template prior to publication and James Cummings of the Oxford Text Archive, Oxford University, for his help on the creation of the manuscript description template.

explicit, and we give a short bibliography relating to the item itself rather than to the manuscript as a whole. We also transcribe any item written in a margin, providing an indication of the hand and the time of writing. An example of this tagging process can be seen in the appendix. There we explain how we tagged fol. 70^v and provide a full transcription of the annotations. A few clear principles have guided us in the choice of tagging and in the design of the XML structure. The standards we have adopted are clear, and we have also decided to describe the page without imposing textual hierarchies or too much categorization. Particular attention is also being paid throughout the analysis of the manuscript content to the language of both the item and its component parts which will allow us and others to use this resource to ask different questions of the material. This is a challenging undertaking, because it forces the developer of such a resource to think carefully about the type of data, the labelling of the data, and the translation of the data into a viable electronic research tool. We hope that the principles which have guided us in this process of categorization will allow researchers to consider these layers of information in a new light.

The Research Context

Traxel classifies features of the language of the annotation in the left-hand margin of MS Ii. 1. 33, fol. 40^v as Middle English, but also notes Hugh Magennis's suggestion that some of the Old English spellings in the passage 'may be due to the scribe's attempt at achieving some degree of consistency with regard to the main text and at trying to "sound Old English"'.¹⁶ Traxel also notes that Andrew's name is spelled in two different ways in this passage: 'saint Andreu' and 'saintes Andreas', and suggests that the 'Andreu' and 'saintes' are signs that the scribe is more accustomed to French pronunciation.¹⁷ This suggestion relies on the assumption that the apparent French interference with Andrew's name and title in these examples derives from the scribe's own language rather than from other potential factors such as the scribe's familiarity with a range of texts and references to Andrew in English and French, or the language of an exemplar. Moreover, it is worth noting that the same scribe wrote the main text of quires 1–4, all in Old English, so if they were comfortable in French, they were also extremely comfortable in (Ælfrician) Old English. It has often been assumed that the principal purpose behind the

¹⁶ Traxel, *Language Change*, p. 73, n. 67.

¹⁷ Traxel, *Language Change*, p. 76.

annotation of Old English texts at such a late date is to make them accessible and readable by people who do not know Old English. Recent work on post-Conquest Old English is overturning this assumption, and in the case of MS Ii. 1. 33, fol. 70^v it is demonstrably not viable; a reader without a good knowledge of the Old English of the main text would not be assisted in understanding it by the annotations which, between them, do not provide any substantial gloss on or reiteration of its contents. This highlights the imperative of conceptualizing what is going on here, and the need to address it in three particular aspects and via a series of questions.

Production

How might we best categorize annotations such as those on fol. 70^v which use different languages? Does the modern concept of code-switching really apply, or does it require a level of contiguity — moving between languages within clauses or sentences — which is not reflected on fol. 70^v, in which case perhaps a term like language layering is more accurate, if necessarily less precise.

If this is a production which implies multilingualism, at least on the part of scribe 1, then what are the implications of this for the relative fluency of this scribe in English (older or newer), French, and Latin?

How can we discern the intention for this page — on the part both of the main text scribe (scribe 2) and then of scribe 1 as they successively wrote at least two stints of interlinear annotation and two separate marginal annotations? Was this page intended to be the target text/product, or was it to be intermediate, and if so, intermediate to what? We do not have a convenient surviving version of a *Life of Andrew* which is mainly made up of Ælfric's narrative with added sections which correspond to the annotations on this page — let alone one which also turns the annotations into English of the same kind as the main text — so we cannot tell if this page ever became a version like that. This notwithstanding, the likelihood of such a version having been made is not high, given the layers of translation and compilation which would have to be involved, and it is reasonable to assume that the intention of the annotators of this page was not to produce material for the writing up of a newly composite text. More probable is that the annotators intended the page, complete with annotations, to serve as a working repository for notes and examples of narrative on Andrew. Alternatively, they might have written on the page as a way of interacting with it as readers as they studied, and perhaps memorized, its main text. Such engaged reading would lend itself particularly well to the storing up in the memory of material for use in the making of later texts or preaching performances.

Intentionality will never be concretely discernable, either for the whole page or any of the layers on it. For the purposes of the Project it might, however, be possible, and analytically useful, to develop a vocabulary for categorizing annotations in terms of their assumed intention, or their relationship to the main text: for example as summary, explicatory, or amplificatory. The marginal annotations on fol. 70^v could be classed as amplificatory and the interlinear ones as clarifying and making precise, and we would argue that the impulse behind all of the interventions on this page is essentially scholarly.

Reception

Fol. 70^v, as it stands, would be a very complex linguistic performance for a single reader, who would have to move from Late West Saxon — and decide what to do with those interlinear additions — to later English, and to French. It might be difficult, then, to imagine the page read aloud, but perhaps such a scenario is less improbable than we might imagine; particularly if twelfth-century English textual culture operates across what we now consider language boundaries in a way much more fluid than has hitherto been admitted. If such a scribal performance can be imagined, then its reception must be imaginable too.

Even without knowing who made this page, or why, or for whom, it is possible to discern a process of reading for it. That process is a chain of at least five stages, possibly but not necessarily in the following order: scribe 2 reading Ælfric, scribe 2 writing Ælfric, scribe 1 reading that writing of Ælfric and annotating it between the lines, scribe 1 repeating that stage for other interlinear additions, scribe 1 then seeing — if not necessarily rereading — the page with interlinear additions and annotating it in one margin, scribe 1 then reading the version with two layers of annotations and annotating it in another margin. And if anyone read the page as we have it now, then there is a sixth layer, of reading the totality of it. If someone did read the whole page as we have it, just like scribe 1 they would need to be relatively comfortable with what we categorize as late Old English, early Middle English, and Old French.

Boundaries

We would argue that the level of potential multilingual comfort amongst writers and readers of post-Conquest Old English has been seriously underestimated, but furthermore that a modern conception of multilingualism is not necessarily

appropriate here, since it requires a perception of distinct languages. In considering the total linguistic performance of fol. 70^v, it is important to ask whether Old English and Middle English constitute distinct categories, and what sort of category identity Old French might have relative to English for a writer like scribe 1 and for a putative twelfth-century reader of the folio. The presence on a single page of such a layering of languages implies quite strongly that at least some of the language boundaries which we find so distinct — including those separating the categories into which we organize English as it develops from the late pre-Conquest to the early post-Conquest period — might not be so for a twelfth-century scribe or reader. If that is the case, the question which follows is of what sorts of boundaries might pertain for the producers and potential users of this page.

We would suggest that, in cases like this, language (as in Old English, Middle English, French) is not the dominant category criterion for a twelfth-century reader in England, and that other sorts of categorizations or boundaries, like register and genre, might be more important. Our work on post-Conquest Old English leads us to propose that scribes and compilers, and presumably their intended readers, are not preoccupied by — and perhaps not aware of — a boundary between what we might label late Old English and early Middle English.¹⁸ Old and new might be identifiable by scribes or readers in some instances, but if so, they are often collaged on the manuscript page, and in its reading; older texts are not smoothed out systematically so that they read like newer ones. As noted above with reference to the apparent layering of languages on fol. 70^v, what might look disjointed or disparate to us is arguably not perceived in that way by post-Conquest Old English readers.

On fol. 70^v, we would argue that the Middle English addition (and the French one, for that matter) are not intended to be perceived as updatings of the main Ælfric text, even though they must have been written down after the date at which Ælfric wrote the original Old English homily. They are, rather, coming from slightly different positions than the Ælfric text, and in fact their language difference might heighten the sense that they are differently positioned, and perhaps as different voices, amplifying the main text. In terms of *mise-en-page*, fol. 70^v might seem to set out a hierarchy of languages, with Old English as the primary language and later English and French as dependent on it, but it would be over-reading the

¹⁸ London, Lambeth Palace, MS 487, with its mix of Old English and later English items, is a good example, and the apparently erratic 'linguistic updating' of single Ælfric homilies in many manuscripts is another. See *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Elaine M. Treharne and Mary Swan (Cambridge, 2000), for a range of examples.

implications of this to presuppose an entirely politicized, English linguistic-national intent behind the making of the page. It might well be that something equally politicized, but considerably more subtle, is going on: all three of these distinct languages (as we would nowadays classify them) are clearly appropriate for scribe 1 and their intended readers or users, and later English and French speak to Old English not in order to drown it out, but simply in a conversation where Old English got there first.

The question of the relationship between Old English and other languages in the twelfth century raises wider issues, of course, which we will be much better equipped to consider now that the English Manuscripts Project has done its work and provided scholars with access to a well-organized and searchable corpus of data on all the Project's manuscripts, so that any example can be set in context, and so that contexts can be defined.

Conclusion

This article has argued for a full recontextualization and integration of the English material alongside other languages: Latin and French. We strongly believe that the linguistic contiguities in English manuscripts are significant for better understanding the participants in twelfth-century manuscript culture. Thus, on the one hand we call for more attention to English texts, but on the other we embrace the multilingual culture that the manuscripts witness. It is one of the tasks of our Project to promote dialogue and a new discourse reflecting on the 'overarching structures of linguistic pluralism'¹⁹ which are represented by the very spirit of this volume.

¹⁹ This phrase is taken from the 'Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England' conference announcement.

Appendix

Tagging *Fol.70*²⁰

The Homily of *St Andrew* is tagged under `<msItem class="main"/>`; 'main' in this case does not refer to the 'main text', but to the text in the main frame or column.

```
<msItem class="main">
  <locus from="65v" to="71r">fol. 65v/16-71r/3</locus>
  <title type="uniform" xml:lang="en" xml:id="B.1.1.40">Ælfric's <hi rend="it">
    Catholic Homilies</hi>, First Series, XXXVIII, <hi rend="it">St Andrew
    </hi></title>
  <rubric xml:lang="lt" type="initial">II. k<expa>a</expa>l<expa>endas</expa>
    decembris passio S<expa>an</expa>c<expa>t</expa>i Andree Ap<expa>
    osto</expa>li.</rubric>
  <incipit xml:lang="en">'SE apostol andreas æfter cristes þropunge ferde <lb/> to ðam
    lande þe is gehaten achaiga <expa>and</expa> þær boda<lb/>de drihtnes
    geleafan.</incipit>
  <explicit xml:lang="en">'Vton nu biddan þone ælmih<lb/>tigan pealdend þ<expa>
    æt</expa> his eadiga apostol ure þingerer <lb/> beo spa spa he punode his
    gelaðunge bydel. Sy þam metodan drihtne pyrðmynt <expa>and</expa> lof
    a on<lb/> eccnesse. AM<expa>EN</expa>.</explicit>
  <textLang mainLang="en">English</textLang>
  <filiation>Texts starts at the Passion, as in <ref type="mss" target=
    "EM.BL.Vite.D.xvii">Vitellius D. xvii</ref>. A version is also in <ref type="mss"
    target="EM.Ox.Bodl.343">Bodley 343</ref>.</filiation>
  <listBibl>
    <bibl><ref target="#cle112">Clemoes 1997</ref>, pp. 513-19, ll. 170-351.
    </bibl>
    <bibl><ref target="#ker44">Ker 1957</ref>, item 10.</bibl>
  </listBibl>
</msItem>
```

Once the XML is processed, it translates into a rather more readable form:

15. **Item:** fol. 65v/16–71r/3

Title (standard): Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, First Series, XXXVIII, *St Andrew*

Rubric (initial): II. *kalendas decembris passio Sancti Andree Apostoli*.

²⁰ In this appendix we have only partially explained our terminology. Our principles of description with full explanation are available online; see 'Principles of Description', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/catalogue/principles.htm>> [accessed 8 December 2008].

Incipit: 'SE apostol andreas æfter cristes þropunge ferde | to ðam lande þe is gehaten
achaiga *and* þær boda | de drihtnes geleafan.'

Explicit: 'Vton nu biddan þone ælmih | tigan pealdend þæt his eadiga apostol ure
þingerer | beo spa spa he punode his gelaðunge bydel. Sy þam metodan drihtne
pyrdmynt *and* lof a on | eccnesse. AMEN.'

Text Language: English

Other versions of the text: Texts starts at the Passion, as in Vitellius D. xvii. A version is also in Bodley 343.

Bibliography:

Clemons 1997, pp. 513–19, ll. 170–351.

Ker 1957, item 10.

The text which appears on fol. 70^v in the margin is tagged slightly differently, because we use the term 'marginalia' to indicate that the text appears in any margin, and then define it by indicating within <locus> its precise position; <q> is used to tag the transcript from the manuscript, and the 'who' attribute indicates the hand which wrote it.

The text on the left margin is tagged:

```
<msItem class="marginalia">
  <locus from="70v-mLeft" to="70v">fol. 70v/1 left margin</locus>
  <q xml:lang="en">Maximilla <lb/> pas an læfdie <lb/> inne þære burh <lb/> ofer þa
    oðre <lb/> hlæfdie. heo peorðeð<expant>e</expant> sain<expant>n</expant>t
    <lb/> andreu . 7 com <lb/> mid heore cnihte . 7 na<expant>m</expant> þone
    halige <lb/> licame mid my<lb/>cele pyrðmunte <lb/> 7 hine smered<hi rend=
    "sup">e</hi> mid aromate . <lb/>Aromat is ge<lb/>macad of godes <lb/>
    cynnes peorte <lb/> ðe pille spote <lb/> stince . hu <lb/> hæfd<hi rend=
    "sup">e</hi> gecore <lb/> ænne spiðne <lb/> fairne stede <lb/> on to
    licgend<hi rend="sup">e</hi>. <lb/> þær hu leide <lb/> sai<expant>n</expant>
    tes Andreas <lb/> lichame mid <lb/> peorðmunte</q>
  <textLang mainLang="en">English</textLang>
  <note type="main">This annotation was inserted by Scribe 1 (Traxel's Scribe 4). It
    fills the left margin over 24 lines ruled for the purpose of the insertion. Traxel
    comments extensively on the passage, suggesting a Latin source from a lost version
    of the <hi rend="it">Passio Sancti Andrea Apostoli</hi>. He also includes a
    detailed linguistic analysis of the English version.</note>
  <note type="hand"><ref type="scribe" target="#EM.SC.0070">Scribe 1</ref>.
    </note>
  <listBibl>
    <bibl><ref target="#tra278">Traxel 2004</ref>, pp. 68-77.</bibl>
  </listBibl>
</msItem>
```

This encoding translates into:

16. **Item:** fol. 70v/1 left margin

Quotation: ‘Maximilla | þas an læfdie | inne þære burh | ofer þa oðre | hlæfdie. heo
 peorðeðe sain^{nt} | andreu . ȝ com | mid heore cnihte . ȝ nam þone halige | licame mid
 my | cele pyrdmunte | ȝ hine smered^e mid aromate . | Aromat is ge | macad of godes |
 cynnes peorte | ðe pille spote | stince . hu | hæfd^e gecore | ænne spiðne | fairne stede | on
 to licgend^e . | þær hu leide | saintes Andreas | lichame mid | peorðmunte’

Text Language: English

Note: This annotation was inserted by Scribe 1 (Traxel’s Scribe 4). It fills the left margin over 24 lines ruled for the purpose of the insertion. Traxel comments extensively on the passage, suggesting a Latin source from a lost version of the *Passio Sancti Andrea Apostoli*. He also includes a detailed linguistic analysis of the English version.

Hand: Scribe 1.

Bibliography:

Traxel 2004, pp. 68–77.

The text in the bottom margin is encoded in a very similar way, but we provide different indications as to the place in which the marginalia was inserted and the language.

```
<msItem class="marginalia">
  <locus from="70v-mBottom" to="70v">fol. 70v bottom margin</locus>
  <q xml:lang="fr">Icest auint en achaia. dunt plusur unt <add place="interlinear">oi
    </add> parler. <lb/> dedenz la cite d<hi rend="sup">e</hi> patras que
    u<expan>us</expan> auez oi numer.</q>
  <textLang mainLang="fr">French</textLang>
  <note type="main">This was inserted by Scribe 1 (Traxel's Scribe 4). It is written on
    two lines which were ruled for the purpose of the insertion. For comments on
    possible sources and language, see <ref target="tra278">Traxel 2004</ref>, pp.
    77-79.</note>
  <note type="hand"><ref type="scribe" target="#EM.SC.0070">Scribe 1</ref>.
    </note>
  <listBibl>
    <bibl><ref target="#tra278">Traxel 2004</ref>, pp. 77-79.</bibl>
  </listBibl>
</msItem>
```

The encoding translates, however, in a very similar way to the example of the text on the left margin:

17. **Item:** fol. 70v bottom margin

Quotation: ‘Icest auint en achaia. dunt plusur unt \oi/ parler. | dedenz la cite d^e patras
 que *uus* auez oi numer.’

Text Language: French

Note: This was inserted by Scribe 1 (Traxel's Scribe 4). It is written on two lines which were ruled for the purpose of the insertion. For comments on possible sources and language, see Traxel 2004, pp. 77–79.

Hand: Scribe 1.

Bibliography:

Traxel 2004, pp. 77–79.

THE MAKING OF DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE LANGUAGES OF LORDSHIP IN CONQUERED ENGLAND

Stephen Baxter

The Domesday survey was the most remarkable multilingual event in the history of the English state. Its multilingual character is suggested by its very name: *Domesdei* was the name given by the English to a book written in Latin for a French-speaking colonial elite. In a famous passage, the author of *Dialogus de Scaccario* describes its genesis thus:

[...] communicato consilio, discretissimos a latere suo destinavit uiros per regnum in circuitu. Ab his itaque totius terre descriptio diligens facta est, tam in nemoribus quam pascuis et pratis, nec non et agriculturis, et uerbis communibus annotata in librum redacta est, ut uidelicet quilibet iure suo contentus alienum non usurpet impune. Fit autem descriptio per comitatus, per centuriatas et hidas, prenotato in ipso capite regis nomine, ac deinde seriatim aliorum procerum nominibus apposisis secundum status sui dignitatem, qui uidelicet de rege tenent in capite. Apponuntur autem singulis numeri secundum ordinem sic dispositis, per quos inferius in ipsa libri serie que ad eos pertinent facilius occurrunt. Hic liber ab indigenis 'Domesdei' nuncupatur, id est dies iudicii per metaphoram. Sicut enim districti et terribilis examinis illius nouissimi sententia nulla tergiuersationis arte ualet eludi, sic cum orta fuerit in regno contentio de his rebus que illic annotantur, cum uentum fuerit ad librum, sententia eius infatuari non potest uel impune declinari.¹

I am most grateful to Sally Harvey, Caroline Thorn, and Frank Thorn for commenting extensively on earlier versions of this paper; all remaining errors are my own. I should like to offer this paper as a tribute to the memory of Caroline Thorn, who made a profound contribution to Domesday scholarship and will be greatly missed.

¹ Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. and trans. by Emilie Amt, *The Dialogue of the Exchequer* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 96–99. '[...] after taking counsel he [King William] sent very prudent men, his own companions, on circuit throughout the kingdom. By them a careful survey was then made of the whole land, of woods and pastures and meadows, and also of farming, and was collected in one book written in plain words, so that everyone should be content with his own

Although written in the late 1170s, nearly a century after the event, this passage correctly identifies some of the key elements of the process by which Domesday Book was made, and alludes to their multilingual character. William's *discretissimi viri*, who were indeed sent *in circuitu* throughout the realm, were mostly French-speaking lords; their task was to elicit information *ab indigenis*, mostly but not all English speaking; and their findings were indeed recorded *uerbis communibus* — that is, in Latin, though deploying Latinizations of certain vernacular terms.

How and to what extent did linguistic interaction shape the matter *Domesdei* contains? Given the amount of scholarship that has been lavished on Domesday Book,² it is remarkable how little attention these questions have received. Linguists and philologists have made important contributions to Domesday scholarship but, for excellent reasons, these have tended to concentrate on personal names and place-names.³ The extent to which language use determined how other phenomena

rights and not usurp the rights of others with impunity. The survey is made county by county, hundred by hundred, and hide by hide. The king's name comes first, followed by the names of other nobles, namely those who hold from the king in chief, in order of rank. Furthermore, the list of names is numbered, so that what belongs to each person can easily be found by number below, in the same order, in the book itself. The natives call this book "Domesday", that is, the day of judgment. This is a metaphor: for just as no judgment of that final severe and terrible trial can be evaded by any subterfuge, so when any controversy arises in the kingdom concerning the matters contained in the book, and recourse is made to the book, its word cannot be denied or set aside with impunity.' Domesday Book is cited by folio and column number from *Great Domesday Book: Library Edition*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 1986–92), abbreviated as GDB; by folio number from *Little Domesday: Library Edition*, ed. by Ann Williams, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 2000), abbreviated as LDB; and in parentheses by the numbering system used in *Domesday Book*, ed. by J. Morris and others, 34 vols (Chichester, 1974–86). Unless otherwise stated, I have preferred the translation supplied by the Alecto edition.

² The vast literature is surveyed by David Bates, *A Bibliography of Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1986), supplemented by Elizabeth Hallam, 'Some Current Domesday Research Trends and Recent Publications', in *Domesday Book*, ed. by Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (Stroud, 2001), pp. 191–98. Extensive bibliographies can also be found in David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 252–64; and D. R. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 322–47.

³ See, for example, Olof Von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937); Peter Hayes Sawyer, 'The Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 38 (1956), 483–506; John McNeal Dodgson, 'Domesday Book: Place-Names and Personal Names', in *Domesday Studies: Papers Read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, ed. by James Clarke Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 121–37; Cecily Clark, 'Domesday Book — a Great Red-Herring: Thoughts on Some Late-Eleventh-Century

are represented in Domesday Book has received comparatively little attention.⁴ This is perhaps because the necessary range of linguistic, philological, and historical expertise is so forbidding: to address this problem adequately one would ideally need expertise in Old English, Old Norse, Old French, and medieval Latin, as well as a firm command of the political, social, economic, and legal history of England and her neighbours in the eleventh century. Since I do not claim to possess this combination of expertise, this paper has limited objectives: it seeks simply to register the existence of an important lacuna in Domesday studies, and to suggest ways in which it may be filled. It begins with a sketch of how Domesday Book was made and of the languages deployed in the process, and proceeds to consider how administrative procedures, cultural assumption, and language use combined to shape the representation of pre-Conquest land tenure and lordship in a single folio of Domesday Book.

The Making of Domesday Book as a Multilingual Process

The making of Domesday Book remains a controversial topic, but there is now broad consensus on what constituted the key elements of the process. These can be reconciled into four main phases: the launch of the survey, preparations for the inquest, the inquest itself, and the writing of Great Domesday Book. Each was the product of multilingual interaction.

The survey was launched at a meeting of the King's council held at Gloucester at Christmas in 1085. Here, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'hæfde se

Orthographies', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 317–31; David Parsons, 'Anna, Dot, Thorir... Counting Domesday Personal Names', *Nomina*, 25 (2002), 29–52.

⁴ To take one index, the word 'language' is not listed in the indices of any of the following accounts of the making of Domesday Book: Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961); Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974); Rex Welldon Finn, *The Domesday Inquest and the Making of Domesday Book* (London, 1961); *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Peter Hayes Sawyer (London, 1985); *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt; *Domesday Book*, ed. by Hallam and Bates; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*; Colin Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England: Studies of the Documentation Resulting from the Survey Conducted in 1086* (Oxford, 2006); Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*. Nor is 'language' used, except in passing, in any of the introductions to the county editions of the Alecto edition of Domesday Book, now published in searchable form on CD-ROM as *The Digital Domesday Book: The Scholar's Edition*, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 2002).

cyng mycel gepeaht 7 swiðe deope spæce wið his witan ymbe þis land, hu hit wære gesett oððe mid hwylcon mannon'.⁵ The commissioners responsible for the inquest in each of Domesday's seven 'circuits' were probably appointed at this stage. Hemming's cartulary names those responsible for the west Midland circuit: Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrières, and Adam, brother of Eudo the King's steward.⁶ All four were Norman, and although all them had substantial landholdings in England, none of them held significant amounts of property in 'circuit V' (Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire); and this is important, for it suggests that Domesday commissioners served in regions where they lacked major tenurial interests and were to this extent 'neutral' arbiters.⁷ It also tallies with a contemporary description of the Domesday written by Robert, bishop of Hereford (1079–95), which asserts that

alii inquisitores post alios, et ignoti ad ignotas mittebantur provincias, ut alii aliorum descriptionem reprehenderent et regi eos reos constituerent.⁸

There were thirty-four shires in England at this date (including Rutland, but excluding the region between Ribble and Mersey); and for the purposes of the

⁵ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–), VII: *MS. E: A Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by Susan Irvine (2004), p. 94. 'The king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country — how it was occupied or with what sort of people' (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock, David Douglas, and Susie Tucker (London, 1961), MS E s.a. 1085 (p. 161)). For context, see John Maddicott, 'Responses to the Threat of Invasion, 1085', *EHR*, 122 (2007), 986–97.

⁶ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesie Wigorniensis*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1723), pp. 75–77, 288. For the origins and landholdings of these four men, see Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166*, vol. I: *Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 123, 247–48, 357–58, 456–57.

⁷ Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. by Hallam and Bates, pp. 73–102, 203–08 (pp. 81–82). For the suggestion that William de St Calais, bishop of Durham, and Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, were among the commissioners for circuits II and III respectively (which covered regions that were distant from the landed endowments of their sees), see Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, p. 70.

⁸ William Henry Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR*, 22 (1907), 72–84 (p. 74). 'Other inquisitors followed the first, and strangers were sent into provinces they did not know, so that different men should find fault with the survey of others and place them as defendants before the king.' I am grateful to Frank Thorn for suggesting this translation, which is more precise than *English Historical Documents*, vol. II: 1042–1189, ed. by David Charles Douglas and George William Greenaway, 2nd edn (London, 1981), no. 198 (p. 912).

survey, these shires are known to have been grouped into seven circuits, each supervised by a group of commissioners. The decision to organize the survey in this way was probably made at the Christmas assembly at Gloucester in 1085 for, once all the leading landholders in England had been assembled in one place, it would have been relatively easy to identify — perhaps by a simple show of hands — landholders who did not have significant holdings in particular shires. Someone was presumably made responsible for coordinating the survey as a whole at this stage too. The identity of the ‘man behind the survey’ cannot be certainly identified, but three possible candidates have been identified: Samson, later bishop of Worcester; Ranulf Flambard, later chaplain of King William II; and William, bishop of Durham.⁹ Of these, Bishop William is arguably the strongest candidate, partly because there is strong evidence linking him not only with the south-western circuit (and so with Salisbury, which was a focal point of the inquest) but also with the south-eastern circuit I as well; partly because the hand of the ‘main scribe’ of Great Domesday Book has been identified in manuscripts connected with Durham; and partly because such an appointment would have been consistent with the policy of ensuring the tenurial neutrality of Domesday officials, for Durham’s endowment was concentrated north of Yorkshire in a part of the kingdom not surveyed in 1086.¹⁰

The description of the ‘deope spæce’ in the annal for 1085 was written in Old English, probably by an English monk or cleric based in London or Westminster who served at the Conqueror’s court.¹¹ However, that discussion was presumably conducted principally in French, for King William had tried but failed to learn English,¹² and the composition of his court was overwhelmingly French-speaking at this date. As one of William’s modern biographers has observed: ‘in the greater

⁹ Vivian Hunter Galbraith, ‘Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)’, *EHR*, 82 (1967), 86–101; Sally Harvey, ‘Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance’, *TRHS*, 5th ser., 25 (1975), 175–93 (pp. 190–92); Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 245–47; Pierre Chaplais, ‘William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey’, in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt, pp. 65–77.

¹⁰ Chaplais, ‘William of Saint-Calais’, pp. 73–77; Frank Thorn and Caroline Thorn, ‘The Writing of Great Domesday Book’, in *Domesday Book*, ed. by Hallam and Bates, pp. 37–72, 200–03 (p. 38 n. 8); Baxter, ‘Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure’, p. 82. For Salisbury, see below, note 81.

¹¹ *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154*, ed. by Cecily Clark (Oxford, 1970), pp. xxi–xxiii, lxxv–lxxix.

¹² *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–80), II, 256.

courts towards the end of the reign it is rare indeed to find an important English name'.¹³ Charter evidence bears this out. Consider, for example, a charter issued at Gloucester in 1085, perhaps at the Christmas court itself: it records the confirmation of grants made by Emmelina, wife of Walter de Lacy, and by William d'Eu to St Peter's Gloucester, and is subscribed by King William, his sons Robert and William, Archbishops Lanfranc and Thomas, Bishops Walkelin (of Winchester), Geoffrey (of Coutances), William (of Durham), and Osmund (of Salisbury), and Counts Robert (of Mortain) and Alan (of Brittany) — all of whom originated from Normandy or northern France, except for Lanfranc who was Italian.¹⁴ Domesday Book itself demonstrates the extent to which a French-speaking elite dominated England by 1086. It records the landholdings of about nine hundred lay tenants-in-chief, of whom just thirteen were English; of the remainder, the great majority originated from Normandy, though a significant minority originated from Flanders, Brittany, Picardy, and other parts of northern France, and so presumably spoke a range of French dialects, Flemish, and Breton.¹⁵ Of course, this does not prove that the landholding and political elite actually spoke French at the king's court. Some may have preferred to converse in Latin, and a few English voices would have been audible, for some Englishmen are known to have served at the King's court at this date.¹⁶ Indeed, the author of the annal for 1087 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (which is stylistically similar to those for 1085 and 1086 and probably written by the same person) states that he lived at the Conqueror's

¹³ David Charles Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London, 1966), p. 285.

¹⁴ *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. by David Bates (Oxford, 1998), no. 156. As Bates observes (p. 513), the text of this charter appears to have influenced the corresponding Domesday entry, GDB 165c (Gloucestershire 10:13).

¹⁵ John Palmer, 'The Wealth of the Secular Aristocracy in 1086', *ANS*, 22 (2000), 279–91 (p. 279) estimates that 891 lay tenants-in-chief are recorded in Great Domesday Book, but this figure excludes tenants-in-chief whose estates were recorded only in Little Domesday Book (which covered Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex). The English tenants-in-chief are listed by Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 99; see also Hugh M. Thomas, 'The Significance and Fate of the Native English Landholders of 1086', *EHR*, 118 (2003), 303–33. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 59–60, traces the origins of 2468 'persons or ecclesiastic communities [...] identified as landholders in England' (including subtenants) as follows: 1552 Normans (62.9 per cent), 599 English (24.3 per cent), 110 Bretons (4.5 per cent), 56 Flemings (2.3 per cent), and 51 Picards (2.1 per cent); the total also includes 361 ecclesiastics, 76 laywomen, and 4 Welshmen.

¹⁶ Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 98–125.

court.¹⁷ Although Frenchmen then dominated the religious hierarchy, at least one bishop, four abbots, and two priors were Englishmen in 1085.¹⁸ That some Englishmen were present at the Gloucester court and the synod that followed is demonstrable, for an English abbot, Wulfketel of Crowland, was deposed there and replaced by another Englishman, Ingulf, who had been a royal clerk and a monk at St Wandrille in Normandy prior to this promotion.¹⁹ French was therefore the dominant, but not the only language used at court when the Domesday survey was launched.

The decision to launch the survey was almost certainly communicated through ‘writ-charters’ — that is, writs ‘addressed by the king to the officers and suitors of the shire court’, the principal instrument for making the king’s will known in the localities in the eleventh century.²⁰ The prologue to a twelfth-century Ely manuscript known as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which contains copies of several Domesday-related texts, probably transmits text drawn from one such document:

Hic subscribitur inquisicio terrarum quomodo barones regis inquirunt; uidelicet per sacramentum uicecomitis scire et omnium baronum et eorum francigenarum et tocius centuriatus, presbiteri, praepositi, vi uillani uniuscuiusque uille. Deinde quomodo uocatur mansio, quis tenuit eam tempore regis Ædwardi, quis modo tenet, quot hidae, quot carrucae in dominio, quot hominum, quot uillani, quot cotarii, quot serui, quot liberi homines, quot sochemani, quantum silue, quantum prati, quot pascuorum, quot molendine, quot piscine, quantum est additum uel ablatum, quantum ualebat totum simul, et quantum modo, quantum ibi quisque liber homo uel sochemanus habuit uel habet. Hoc totum tripliciter, scilicet tempore regis Æduardi et quando Rex Willelmus dedit et quomodo sit modo, et si potest plus haberi quam habeatur.²¹

¹⁷ *MS E*, ed. by Irvine, *s.a.* 1087 (p. 96); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker (p. 163).

¹⁸ Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 126, 131–32.

¹⁹ *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, II, 344–46.

²⁰ For this definition of ‘writ-charters’, see Richard Sharpe, ‘The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century’, *ASE*, 32 (2003), 247–91 (p. 250).

²¹ *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis subijcitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), p. 97. ‘Here follows the inquiry concerning lands which the king’s barons made according to the oath of the sheriff of the shire and of all the barons and their Frenchmen, and of the whole hundred court — the priest, reeve and six villeins from each village. They inquired what the manor was called; who held it in the time of King Edward; who holds it now; how many hides there are; how many ploughs in demesne and how many belonging to the men; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many slaves; how many freemen; how many sokemen; how much woodland; how much meadow; how much pasture; how many mills; how many fisheries; how much has been added to, or taken away from, the estate; what it used to be worth altogether; what it is worth

The fact that numerous entries in Domesday Book present this information in roughly this order commends the view that these were the ‘terms of reference’ for the survey.²² Writ-charters were usually issued in English until about 1070, and usually in Latin thereafter.²³ They would be presented as a letter from the king to the presiding officers of the meeting of a shire court, where ‘an official would read it aloud, in English before 1070; translating from English into French for the years between 1066 and 1070; and translating from Latin into both languages after 1070’.²⁴ This was presumably how news of the impending Domesday survey first reached the majority of those who participated in it.

Thus began the second phase of the survey: preparation for the inquest. This would have been a busy time for those responsible for gathering the necessary information. The survey of the king’s resources — royal estates, jurisdictional dues, urban assets, geld, and so on — may have been a separate exercise which ran in parallel with, or perhaps prior to, the rest of the inquest. The description of the survey in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle implies this:

Sende þa ofer eall Engaland into ælcere scire his men 7 lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron innon þære scire oððe hwet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes 7 orfes innan þam lande oððe hwilce gerihta he ahte to habbanne to .xii. monþum of ðære scire. *Eac* he lett gewritan hu mycel landes his arcebiscopas hæfdon 7 his leodbiscopas 7 his abbotas 7 his eorlas, 7 — þeah ic hit lengre telle — hwæt oððe hu mycel ælc mann hæfde þe landsittende wæs innan Engalande on lande oððe on orfe 7 hu mycel feos hit wære wurð.²⁵

now; and how much each freeman and sokeman had and has. All this to be recorded thrice: to wit, as it was in the time of King Edward, as it was when King William gave the estate, and as it is now. And it was also noted whether more can be assessed than may currently be assessed’ (*English Historical Documents*, ed. by Douglas and Greenaway, p. 946, amended (for the last sentence) by Frank Thorn, ‘Shapwick, Domesday Book and the “Polden Estate”’, *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 151 (2007), 1–30 (pp. 2, 20)).

²² Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 60–66; Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History*, pp. 33–37. For a different view, see Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 114–17; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, p. 60.

²³ For the transition from vernacular to Latin writs, and for the possibility that some writs (including writ-charters) were issued in bilingual form, see *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, pp. 44–62.

²⁴ Sharpe, ‘Use of Writs’, p. 253.

²⁵ *MSE*, ed. by Irvine, s.a. 1085 (p. 94). ‘Then he [King William] sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. *Also* he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls — and though I relate it at too great length — what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money

The fact that royal estates and dues are often recorded in distinctive ways in Domesday Book is a further indication that they were subject to separate scrutiny.²⁶ The survey of royal resources probably included a geld inquisition²⁷ and would have been facilitated by existing documentation. Sheriffs had access to documents of the type represented by the Northamptonshire geld roll,²⁸ a Kentish assessment list which antedates Domesday Book,²⁹ the geld lists in *Liber Exoniensis*,³⁰ and the text known as the 'Yorkshire Summary' embedded in the Yorkshire Domesday.³¹ Royal officials could also draw on existing surveys of towns,³² royal estates,³³ and lists recording pre-Conquest lordship arrangements.³⁴ Such material would have been supplemented by new documents where necessary. Royal officials were probably also responsible for drawing up skeletal lists of landholdings in each shire, which created a framework for the inquest: the Domesday-related text

it was worth' (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 161). My emphasis.

²⁶ Sally Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR*, 86 (1971), 753–73 (pp. 770–71); Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 128–40; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 74–78.

²⁷ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 78–82.

²⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. by Agnes Jane Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 230–37.

²⁹ Robert Stuart Hoyt, 'A Pre-Domesday Kentish Assessment List', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris May Stenton*, ed. by Patricia Barnes and Cecil Slade (London, 1962), pp. 189–202; Sally Harvey, 'Recent Domesday Studies', *EHR*, 95 (1980), 121–33 (pp. 124–25).

³⁰ *Libri censualis vocati Domesday Book additamenta*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London, 1816), pp. 1–26, 59–75, 489–90.

³¹ GDB 379a–382b (Yorkshire SW, SN, SE); Thorn, 'Shapwick, Domesday Book and the "Polden Estate"', p. 4.

³² A pre-Conquest survey of Winchester, datable to the late 1050s, is transmitted in a survey of that town made in c. 1110: see *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. by Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1976), pp. 32–68 (text), 9–18 (discussion).

³³ Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 128–33.

³⁴ For lists of pre-Conquest lords who enjoyed rights of sake and soke in Domesday Book, see GDB 1c (Kent D:25), 280c (Derbyshire S:5), 298c (Yorkshire C:36–37), 336a (Lincolnshire C:3), and 337a (Lincolnshire T:5). For the likelihood that sheriffs kept records of pre-Conquest commendations, see Stephen Baxter, 'Lordship and Justice in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Judicial Functions of Soke and Commendation Revisited', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by Stephen Baxter and others (Farnham, 2009), pp. 383–419 (p. 404 n. 106).

known as 'Evesham A' may be a later copy of one such document relating to Worcestershire.³⁵

The collection and assimilation of this material would have been a multilingual process. The chance survival of the Northamptonshire geld roll, which is written in Old English and datable 1066x83, is sufficient to suggest that many such documents were produced during the Conqueror's reign, and available for use in 1086.³⁶ However, the *Liber Exoniensis* geld accounts suggest that Latin was also used for the routine government business, including the administration of geld, towards the end of the reign. Agents of royal government were of mixed origins and ethnicity by 1086. Several English sheriffs remained in office during the late 1060s and 1070s, but only three of the shires surveyed in 1086 were administered by English sheriffs at that date.³⁷ However, many Norman sheriffs are known to have worked closely with Englishmen who possessed experience of royal government. For example, Northmann, the pre-Conquest sheriff of Suffolk, held land from Roger Bigod, the sheriff of Suffolk in 1086.³⁸ Peter de Valognes, the sheriff of Essex in 1086, presumably benefitted from association with Swein 'of Essex', for Swein was the son of Robert fitz Wimarc, a high-ranking thegn and a staller in Edward the Confessor's court, who later served as sheriff of Essex during the early years of King William's reign, and Swein himself appears to have served as sheriff of Essex in the 1070s, and held estates worth £242 in 1086.³⁹ Robert d'Oilly was probably sheriff of Warwickshire in 1086, and if so he would have valued the expertise of Thorkell

³⁵ Peter Hayes Sawyer, 'Evesham A, a Domesday Text', in *Worcester Historical Society, Miscellany I* (Worcester, 1960), pp. 3–36 (edition and discussion); *Domesday Book*, vol. XVI: *Worcestershire*, ed. and trans. by Frank Thorn and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1982), Appendix IV (translation and discussion); Howard Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Sawyer, pp. 50–70 (pp. 60–61).

³⁶ For the likelihood that late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman government generated large volumes of vernacular material of which only a small fraction remains extant, see James Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 157–58, 174. See further David Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge, 1990).

³⁷ They were Edward of Salisbury, sheriff of Wiltshire, and Earnwig, sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. See Judith Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, 5 (1983), 129–45 (pp. 131–33, 140–41); Judith Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), pp. 34, 67, 85; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 105–07.

³⁸ LDB 331b, 334b, 338b, 339b (Suffolk 7:10, 36, 70, 76).

³⁹ Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 39; Green, 'Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', p. 140; Ann Williams, 'Robert fitz Wimarc (d.c.1070)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23718>> [accessed 8 July 2011].

'of Warwick', who was the son of Æthelwine, a pre-Conquest sheriff of Warwickshire and one of the wealthiest English tenants-in-chief in 1086.⁴⁰ There is also late but plausible evidence that Robert was married to the daughter of an Englishman, Wigod 'of Wallingford', who held at least 160 hides in eight shires before 1066 and served as King Edward's butler (*pincerna*).⁴¹ Such associations and connections were numerous, descended deeply into the fabric of society in early Norman England, and were important in the process by which the technologies of the Anglo-Saxon state were transferred to its new masters.⁴² They partly fostered, and were partly dependent upon, multilingual interaction.

Secular and religious landholders would also have been heavily preoccupied with the task of assembling the information required for the inquest in the early months of 1086. Some of this doubtless existed in documentary form. The few extant pre-Domesday inventories and estate surveys are sufficient to suggest that many more existed in 1086.⁴³ Certain religious houses are known to have kept lists of property which had recently been despoiled from them, and such lists doubtless lie behind some of the many disputes recorded in Domesday Book.⁴⁴ Title deeds are known

⁴⁰ Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 83; Ann Williams, 'A Vicecomital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS*, 11 (1989), 279–95; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 99, 103–04.

⁴¹ Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 100–01.

⁴² Wilfred Lewis Warren, 'The Myth of Norman Administrative Efficiency', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 34 (1984), 113–32; James Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt, pp. 201–18, repr. in his *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), pp. 201–25; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 98–125; Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c. 1220* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 274–82.

⁴³ Examples of Old English inventories include *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 72–74 (from Peterborough Abbey), 192–200 (Bury St Edmunds), and 252–56 (Thorney). Examples of Old English estate surveys include *ibid.*, pp. 164–68 (a survey of estates pertaining to the archbishopric of York), 192–200 (containing a survey of food-rents rendered to Bury St Edmunds), 204–06 (a survey of an estate at Tidenham, Gloucestershire), 206 (a record of services and dues rendered at Hurstbourne Priors, Hampshire), 236–38 (a record of dues pertaining to Taunton, Somerset), and 256 (a list of eel renders due to Thorney). See also Paul Harvey, 'Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 1–22; and John Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of c. 1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *EHR*, 116 (2001), 114–23, for an edition and discussion of the oldest surviving Anglo-Norman estate account written in Latin.

⁴⁴ Examples include 'Ely D' (*Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. by Hamilton, pp. 184–89; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, p. 106); 'Evesham D' (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian B XXIV, fols 10^v–11^r, trans. *Domesday Book*, XVI, ed. and trans. by Thorn and Thorn, Appendix IV); and Hemming's *codicellus* (*Hemingi chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, pp. 248–86). For Domesday

to have been presented as evidence during the Domesday inquest.⁴⁵ The officials of tenants-in-chief also generated a large volume of documentation specifically for the survey. Several of the Domesday-related or 'satellite' texts which remain extant appear to represent 'seigneurial returns' compiled in 1086.⁴⁶ These texts exhibit a significant degree of variation in their layout and content: they range from skeletal lists of estates and tenants⁴⁷ to more fully developed accounts which closely resemble the corresponding entries in Domesday Book.⁴⁸ The existence of 'seigneurial returns' can also be inferred from Domesday Book itself, for it is occasionally possible to show that the holdings of particular tenants-in-chief are anomalous, deploying distinctive formulae or diplomatic, or subverting the normal 'hundredal order' in which estates are listed within fees: the fees of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester in the Worcestershire Domesday and of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds in the Suffolk Domesday are particularly striking examples of this phenomenon.⁴⁹

disputes, see Robin Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁴⁵ Examples are collected by J. D. Foy, *Domesday Book: Index of Subjects* (Chichester, 1992), pp. 206, 281; and Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, p. 534.

⁴⁶ Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History*, pp. 73–99; Clarke, 'Domesday Satellites'; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 100–12.

⁴⁷ Examples include 'Abingdon A', printed by David Charles Douglas, 'Some Early Surveys from the Abbey of Abingdon', *EHR*, 54 (1939), 618–25 (p. 623), and *Historia ecclesie Abben-donensis, The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. and trans. by John Hudson, 2 vols (Oxford, 2002–07), II, 379–80; and the so-called 'Baybrooke Feodary', an account of the property of Guy de Raimbeaucourt in Cambridgeshire, printed by G. Herbert Fowler, 'An Early Cambridgeshire Feodary', *EHR*, 46 (1931), 442–43, and discussed by Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', p. 52, 60 (but cf. Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 108–09).

⁴⁸ 'Bath A' is probably one such document: see *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. by William Hunt (London, 1893), pp. 67–68; *Domesday Book*, vol. VIII: *Somerset*, ed. by Caroline Thorn and Frank Thorn (Chichester, 1980), pp. 383–85; Reginald Lennard, 'A Neglected Domesday Satellite', *EHR*, 58 (1943), 32–41; Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History*, pp. 88–91; and Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', p. 60.

⁴⁹ For the fee of Bishop Wulfstan, see Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure', pp. 81–92; and for that of Abbot Baldwin, see Baxter, 'Lordship and Justice', pp. 415–16. The fees of Roger de Lacy in Shropshire and Earl Hugh in Cheshire are idiosyncratic in various respects, presumably because their 'seigneurial returns' influenced the way their fees were recorded in Domesday Book: see Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure', p. 93; Christopher Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', in *The Shropshire Domesday*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1990), pp. 1–27 (pp. 8–9).

That such material was compiled in multilingual contexts is again demonstrable. The households of secular lords tended to be dominated by Frenchmen in the late eleventh century, but numerous Englishmen are known to have been employed at the lower levels of estate administration, providing important links between the mostly foreign landholding elite and the mostly indigenous peasantry.⁵⁰ Here it is relevant that Englishmen formed a substantial element — often a majority — within religious communities in England in 1086.⁵¹ Many English monks, canons, and clerks would therefore have been involved in preparations for the inquest. Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester is known to have produced a seigneurial return which determined how his tenurial and seigneurial rights were described in Domesday Book itself, and he was almost certainly assisted in this task by some of the English monks of Worcester, for although written in Latin its orthography is English, and an English monk named Hemming copied the text into a cartulary within a decade or so of the inquest.⁵² Worcester was not unusual in this respect: there are Domesday-related texts relating to the endowments of Abingdon, Bath, Burton, Bury, Christ Church Canterbury, Ely, Evesham, Peterborough, and St Augustine's Canterbury, many of which are likely to have originated as 'seigneurial returns', and which though written in Latin contain clear evidence of English orthography.⁵³

One particularly interesting multilingual text may have originated during the preparatory phase of the Domesday survey: an account of 'The rights and laws which Archbishop T(homas) has throughout York', which is preserved in the fourteenth-century *Magnum registrum album* of York Minster.⁵⁴ Its dating limits

⁵⁰ Thomas, *English and the Normans*, pp. 108–09 (for the composition of Anglo-Norman households) and pp. 169–70 (for reeves and estate administrators).

⁵¹ Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 131–33; Thomas, *English and the Normans*, pp. 205–08.

⁵² *Hemingi chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, pp. 298–313; Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure', pp. 81–92. For the orthography of this fee, see Peter Hayes Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book', *EHR*, 70 (1955), 177–97 (p. 183); Feilitz, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names*, p. 7.

⁵³ Sawyer, 'Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts', pp. 495, 498–506; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ York Minster, *Magnum registrum album*, fol. 61, printed with translation in Felix Liebermann and M. H. Peacock, 'An English Document of about 1080', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 18 (1905), 412–16; and *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, ed. by David Rollason with Derek Gore and Gillian Fellows-Jensen (York, 1998), pp. 210–13; and translated by David Michael Palliser, *Domesday York* (York, 1990), p. 25. See also Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, 'The "Shire" and Privileges of the Archbishop in Eleventh-Century York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 38 (1953), 131–47.

are c. 1070x88, and it has been suggested, plausibly, that it may be 'one of the preliminary documents [...] drawn up as part of [the Domesday] Inquest'.⁵⁵ The document was witnessed by twelve named Englishmen and all the *burhware* in York, six named Frenchmen (including Hugh the sheriff), the archbishop's *familia*, and *ceteri homines regis* — a combination which recalls in general terms the description of the Domesday inquest supplied by the prologue to *Inquisitio Eliensis*.⁵⁶ Whether or not it was compiled in 1086, the text — which identifies the various dues to which the archbishop was entitled in York — is surely representative of the kind of matter secular and religious landholders needed for the Domesday inquest. It is therefore of special interest that it is written in Old English and Anglo-Norman French, except that part of the witness list is in Latin. The text is admittedly transmitted in a very late, fourteenth-century copy, and the scribe who entered it into the *Magnum registrum album* appears not to have fully understood his exemplar, introducing numerous errors into his copy; but it remains possible that the original text was cast in a similar multilingual form.

The third phase of the survey centred around the hearings of the inquest, which usually consisted of meetings of shire courts.⁵⁷ Tenants-in-chief were assigned a specific date on which their landholdings were recorded.⁵⁸ According to the prologue to the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, their testimony was submitted on oath and scrutinized by the barons of the shire, a jury from each hundred or wapentake, and a deputation from each vill.⁵⁹ The veracity of this statement is confirmed by lists of Domesday jurors in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* and in another text known as the *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.⁶⁰ In addition, numerous entries in Domesday Book

⁵⁵ Palliser, *Domesday York*, pp. 6–8.

⁵⁶ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, p. 30 n. 4 considers this 'possible but [...] not probable', in part because the *Inquisitio Eliensis* suggests that equal numbers of Frenchmen and Englishmen served as Domesday jurors from each hundred. This is true (below, note 60), but although the York text *names* unequal numbers of Englishmen and Frenchmen among the witnesses, it also *refers* to numerous others whose ethnicity is not known, so the ethnic composition of the meeting which lies behind the witness list is unclear.

⁵⁷ Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 70–74.

⁵⁸ An entry in the Norfolk Domesday refers to the day on which the lands of a tenant-in-chief were put in writing (*fuit inbreuiatus*): LDB 276b (Norfolk 66:61).

⁵⁹ Above, note 21.

⁶⁰ *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis subijcitur Eliensis*, ed. by Hamilton, pp. 1, 9, 11–12, 17, 25, 28–29, 38, 43, 51, 68, 83, 93, 97–101; Christopher Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors', *Haskins Society Journal*, 5 (1993), 17–44.

itself refer to the testimony given by the representatives of several different administrative units, and of various social and ethnic groups.

Table 8. Groups who gave testimony to the Domesday Inquest.⁶¹

Who gave testimony	No. of entries in Domesday Book
Administrative units	
Men of the county (<i>comitatus, uicecomitatus</i>)	68
Men of the shire (<i>scira</i>)	49
Burgesses (<i>burgenses</i>)	11
Men of the hundred	311
Men of the wapentake	92
Men of the riding	30
Sworn men (<i>hominess qui iuraverunt</i>)	14
Social and ethnic groups	
Members of religious communities	8
The men or representatives of other landholders	59
Sheriffs	8
Thegns (<i>taini</i>)	6
Free men (<i>liberi homines</i>)	2
Sokemen (<i>sochemanni</i>)	1
Men of the vill (<i>villani</i>)	2
Englishmen (<i>Angli</i>)	11
Frenchmen (<i>Franci</i>)	4
Frenchmen and Englishmen	4
Welsh (<i>Walenses</i>)	1
Individuals with 'English' names	45
Individuals with 'Continental' names	109

An entry in the Hampshire Domesday supplies an unusually vivid account of a dispute heard at the inquest. It records that five hides at Charford, which had been held by two free men as two manors from King Edward *in alodium TRE*, were held by William *de Chernet* from Hugh de Port (the sheriff of Hampshire) in 1086, and that Picot (the sheriff of Cambridgeshire) held two and half virgates in the

⁶¹ I have compiled these statistics using the indices to Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, pp. 539–44.

same vill from the king in 1086, which had been held by a certain Vitalet from King Edward in *alodium* TRE. The entry continues:

Istam terram calumniatur Willermus de chernet, dicens pertinere ad manerium de Cerdeford feudum hugonis de port per hereditatem sui antecessoris, et de hoc suum testimonium adduxit de melioribus et antiquis hominibus totius comitatus et hundredi; et picot contraduxit suum testimonium de uillanis et uili plebe et de praepositis, qui uolunt defendere per sacramentum aut per dei iudicium quod ille qui tenuit terram liber homo fuit et potuit ire cum terra sua quo uoluit. Sed testes Willemi nolunt accipere legem nisi regis Edwardi usque dum diffiniatur per regem.⁶²

This tallies with the *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue's assertion that each vill was to be represented by a reeve and six *villani*, and thus bears on the problem as to how many people were involved in the inquest. It has been calculated that

there were probably at least twelve jurors from each of thirty-four shires, an equal number from the twenty-six riding, rape, lathe and other area assemblies, eight from each of 767 hundreds, and twelve or eighteen from about sixty-five cities and boroughs, making a total of, at a minimum, 7,600.⁶³

It has also been calculated that there were approximately 6500 villas in Domesday England and that, if each of these were indeed represented by a priest, a reeve, and six *villani*, more than fifty thousand villagers must have participated in the survey. Thus, in total 'over 60,000 witnesses were probably heard in the course of the Domesday inquiry'.⁶⁴ When a Bury scribe wrote that 'ipsius terre pene uniuersi incole' ('almost all the inhabitants of the land') gave sworn evidence to the Domesday inquest, he did so with pardonable exaggeration.⁶⁵ The Domesday survey clearly involved extensive public participation, reaching deep into the social fabric, crossing ethnic and linguistic boundaries as it proceeded. This was surely intentional. One of the purposes of the Domesday survey was to draw a line under

⁶² GDB 44d (Hampshire 23:3). 'William de Chernet claims this land, saying that it belongs to the manor of [South] Charford, [in] Hugh de Port's fief, through the inheritance of his antecessor; and he has brought as his testimony to this the better men and the old men of the whole shire and hundred; and Picot has brought against it as his testimony the villani and common people and reeves, who are willing to maintain by oath, or by the judgement of God, that he who held the land was a free man, and could go with his land where he would. But the witnesses of William refuse to accept [any] law except that of King Edward until it be determined by the king.'

⁶³ Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, p. 123.

⁶⁴ Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, p. 123.

⁶⁵ *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. by David Charles Douglas (London, 1932), p. 3; *English Historical Documents*, ed. and trans. by Douglas and Greenaway, p. 955.

twenty years of tenurial upheaval by validating the new, radically transformed landholding structure of England, both publicly and in writing.⁶⁶ The effectiveness of the inquest was therefore in part a function of the number of people it involved: the greater the level of participation the better. The inquest constituted a great stage on which the whole process of conquest and colonization was ritually finalized and legitimated.⁶⁷

For all these reasons, the public sessions of the Domesday inquest must have been busy, loud, and intensely dramatic multilingual occasions. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* and the *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis* between them supply the names of about 160 individuals who served as hundredal jurors during the inquest: roughly half of these bore names of insular origin and half bore names of Continental origin.⁶⁸ Table 8 shows that Domesday Book records the testimony supplied by Englishmen, Frenchmen, and in one case a group of Welshmen.⁶⁹ This is unlikely to constitute a precise reflection of the ethnic or linguistic composition of the inquest, for the Conqueror's regime tended to use the words *Angli* and *Franci* to differentiate between all those who had lived in England during the time of King Edward and all those who followed William to England in 1066 or later respectively — a distinction which took no account of ethnicity.⁷⁰ The range of linguistic and ethnic groups involved in the Domesday survey was more extensive. Dodgson memorably characterized the Conquest as

a forceful political and cultural confrontation, juxtaposition and adjustment in English society — or rather, among the inhabitants of England — between the indigenous landholding population which was, in general, of Anglo-Saxon extraction and of Anglo-Scandinavian and Welsh (and Cumbrian and Cornish); generally bearing personal names and using place-names which belonged to the Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, and Old Danish stock, or to the Welsh, Cornish or Irish; in general speaking Old English and Anglo-Scandinavian, and the varieties of Old Welsh [...] and a new landholding aristocracy which was Norman or French or Breton or Flemish or whatever other breed or nationality of

⁶⁶ The 'purpose' of the Domesday survey is much debated. Summarized, my own view is that it served several purposes, being the result of a bargain between a king who needed to strengthen his control of fiscal resources and his hold on aristocratic loyalty, and an aristocracy which was eager to obtain confirmation of its title to property. It is therefore not surprising that the survey generated various outputs of which some, but not all, are transmitted in Domesday Book.

⁶⁷ For persuasive arguments to this effect, see Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, pp. 34–35.

⁶⁸ Lewis, 'Domesday Jurors', p. 19.

⁶⁹ GDB 269b (Cheshire G:2): 'Walenses testificantur istum hundredum esse de his Nortwalis.'

⁷⁰ George Garnett, 'Franci et Angli: The Legal Distinctions between Peoples after the Conquest', *ANS*, 8 (1986), 109–37.

chivalrous but unscrupulous adventurer, desperate ne'er do-well, or noble and dutiful vassal had been recruited to the Norman Duke's ominous enterprise of England [...]. This new society of immigrants and conquerors would be speaking all sorts of languages as well as the *lingua franca* in either the Norman or the Frankish varieties, and bearing names which were Franco-Danish, or French, or varieties of Continental Germanic, or Breton.⁷¹

Most if not all of these ethnic and linguistic groups will have contributed to the cacophony of the Domesday inquest. Its principal languages presumably were, however, English and French for the spoken word and Latin for its written output. This doubtless created considerable demand for the services of those fluent in two or more of these languages. Domesday Book names eleven interpreters, of whom four bore English names and two were the sons of Englishmen; and although none of them is specifically said to have played a role in the inquest, it seems probable that they and many others like them did.⁷²

Precisely when and how the commissioners and their scribes committed this material to writing is unclear. It is possible that preliminary drafts were prepared before the inquest proceedings, and that these were simply read out and amended at that stage.⁷³ Alternatively, the commissioners may have committed material to writing as the inquest proceeded. Practice doubtless varied, but there are several indications that the bulk of the testimony was given and first recorded in territorial sequence, hundred by hundred (or wapentake by wapentake), then vill by vill. The *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, which is probably a copy of a document produced during the Cambridgeshire inquest, is arranged in this order,⁷⁴ and there are indications in Domesday Book itself and other 'satellite' texts that similar territorially arranged documents were produced in other circuits.⁷⁵ In some cases, these may have been redrafted to arrange the material in tenurial order, fee by fee. Whatever the case, each group of commissioners undoubtedly produced a full return for each of the shires for which they were responsible. At least one and probably two such documents remain extant in their original form. Exon Domesday is the return

⁷¹ Dodgson, 'Domesday Book: Place-Names and Personal Names', p. 123.

⁷² Hiro Tsurushima, 'Domesday Interpreters', *ANS*, 18 (1995), 201–22.

⁷³ Thorn, 'Shapwick, Domesday Book and the "Polden Estate"', p. 4; Flight, *Survey*, pp. 108–24.

⁷⁴ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 123–45; Clarke, 'Domesday Satellites', pp. 52, 62; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 98–99; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 91, 94.

⁷⁵ Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book'; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 47–50.

from the south-western shires (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire). This is unlike Great Domesday in that it is arranged firstly by fee and then within each fee by shire, and in part for this reason, Galbraith interpreted it as a draft return, supposing that it underwent a further stage of rewriting before a fair copy was submitted to those responsible for writing Great Domesday Book.⁷⁶ However, recent work has since established beyond reasonable doubt that the main scribe of Great Domesday Book worked directly from the surviving manuscript of Exon Domesday.⁷⁷ Little Domesday Book was probably the return for circuit VII which, for reasons which are unclear, was never incorporated into Great Domesday Book.⁷⁸ That circuit returns were produced for all seven circuits can be inferred from formulaic patterns throughout Domesday Book.⁷⁹

These circuit returns were presumably written in Latin, but their production was multilingual — or at least multiethnic — in character. Bishop Remigius was accompanied on his western circuit by two Frenchmen and two Englishmen: Nigel *clericus*, Ranulf *monachus*, Wulfsgie *presbiter*, and Ulf *monachus*.⁸⁰ The palaeography and orthography of the Exon Domesday and Little Domesday scribes supply some clues as to their ethnicity. A powerful case has been made for thinking that at least fifteen scribes worked on Exon Domesday, of whom at least three (and probably more) were based at Salisbury Cathedral, then located on the site of Old Sarum, and that this was where the manuscript was written.⁸¹ The most recent palaeographical

⁷⁶ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 102–22, 166–70. Flight, *Survey*, pp. 38–80, 125–37 attempts to revive this argument.

⁷⁷ Thorn and Thorn, 'Writing of Great Domesday Book', pp. 66–69.

⁷⁸ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 30–35, 178–85. For an alternative hypothesis (namely that the scribes of Little Domesday Book worked from a territorially arranged circuit report which is now lost, and that their work constituted the first stage in the writing of Domesday Book, not the return for circuit VII), see Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 177–80; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 88–91, 98–99, 104.

⁷⁹ Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure', pp. 74–80; the structure of the circuits is illustrated in Table 9 below.

⁸⁰ *Hemingi chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, pp. 75–76.

⁸¹ Neil Ripley Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by Jonathan Alexander and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 23–49; Teresa Webber, 'Salisbury and the Exon Domesday: Some Observations Concerning the Origin of Exeter Cathedral MS 3500', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 1 (1989), 1–18; and Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 8–19. Flight, *Survey*, pp. 49–59, identifies twenty or more scribes and (pp. 38, 60, 126) contends that it was compiled at Winchester.

judgement is that, although one of them was English or at least trained in an English scriptorium, the majority were Continental.⁸² The orthographical characteristics of Exon Domesday point in a similar direction: its personal and place-name forms persuaded Sawyer that it was 'the work of scribes some of whom were unfamiliar with English, presumably Frenchmen or Normans'.⁸³ More work needs to be done on the scribes of Little Domesday, for although their hands have now been identified, none of their hands has yet been found in other near-contemporary manuscripts. The orthographical evidence is also less clear in this case: Sawyer considers it 'possible that the scribes of LDB had acquired certain habits such as the unvoicing of final *-d* to *-t* from Continental scribes, but it is also possible that the scribal tradition of LDB was native'.⁸⁴ However, the most recent analysis concludes that it was written by seven scribes, of whom 'one wrote an undistinguished hand of English type', and that the rest wrote 'equally undistinguished hands of Norman type'.⁸⁵ The available evidence thus suggests that French scribes played a dominant but not exclusive role in the production of the circuit returns.

The author of the annal for 1085 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was probably referring to these circuit returns when he wrote that 'ealle þa gewrita wæron gebroht to him syððan' ('all the records were brought to him [King William] afterwards').⁸⁶ The annal for the following year contains suggestive evidence as to where this happened. It records that a great meeting was convened at Salisbury at Lammas (1 August) in 1086:

7 þær him comon to his witan and ealle þa landsittende men þe ahtes wæron ofer eall Engeland, wæron þæs mannes men þe hi wæron, 7 ealle hi bugon to him 7 weron his menn 7 him holdaðas sworon þet hi woldon ongean ealle oðre men him holde beon.⁸⁷

⁸² Webber, 'Salisbury', p. 8. Ker, 'Beginnings', p. 807, remarks that Exon contains 'many rather poor hands of Norman type'.

⁸³ Sawyer, 'Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts', p. 495.

⁸⁴ Sawyer, 'Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts', p. 497.

⁸⁵ Michael Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1987), pp. 93–112 (p. 109).

⁸⁶ *MS E*, ed. by Irvine, s.a. 1085 (p. 94); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 162.

⁸⁷ *MS E*, ed. by Irvine, s.a. 1085 (p. 94). 'And there his councillors came to him, and all the people occupying land who were of any account over all England, no matter whose vassals they might be; and they all submitted to him and became his vassals, and swore oaths of allegiance to him, that they would be loyal to him against all other men' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 162).

It has been suggested that this occasion was an integral part of the Domesday process: that 'all the *landsittende men* of any account in England' performed homage and swore fealty to the King at Salisbury in return for the greater security of title which the Domesday survey afforded them.⁸⁸ If so, the Domesday inquest concluded with an astonishingly large multiethnic and multilingual gathering, which was attended by thousands of French and English landholders, concerned with the records of a momentous survey written in Latin, and shortly afterwards described by a chronicler writing in English.

The fourth and final phase of the Domesday process was the writing of Great Domesday Book.⁸⁹ This was substantially the work of a single scribe, though a second scribe assisted or supervised him and was responsible for about 530 corrections and additions, a further four scribes made a small number of additions, and one other made a series of quire signatures.⁹⁰ The main scribe used circuit returns as his principal source of information: there are several indications that he worked directly from Exon Domesday; and although he edited this material, he must have preserved its essence, for the composition of each circuit can be inferred from formulaic patterns in Great Domesday Book.⁹¹ Precisely when Great Domesday Book was written is unclear. Some scholars have argued that it was written a decade or more after the survey was conducted.⁹² Roffe has recently suggested that it may have been written during the reign of King William II as a response to the rebellion of 1088.⁹³ However, there is strong evidence that the main scribe commenced work

⁸⁸ James Clarke Holt, '1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt, pp. 41–64, repr. with an additional note in his *Colonial England, 1066–1215* (London, 1997), pp. 31–57. Holt's case is criticized by John Prestwich, 'Mistranslations and Misinterpretations in Medieval English History', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 322–40 (pp. 327–36). However, the discovery that some of the scribes responsible for the production of Exon Domesday were based at Salisbury (above, note 81) strengthens the argument that the great meeting there was closely connected with the Domesday survey.

⁸⁹ For this, see Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 189–204; Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais'; Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts'; Alexander Rumble, 'The Palaeography of the Domesday Manuscripts', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Sawyer, pp. 28–49; Alexander Rumble, 'The Domesday Manuscripts: Scribes and Scriptoria', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt, pp. 79–99; Thorn and Thorn, 'Writing of Great Domesday Book'; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 184–223.

⁹⁰ Thorn and Thorn, 'Writing of Great Domesday Book', p. 38.

⁹¹ Above, note 79.

⁹² See, for example, *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by David Charles Douglas (London, 1944), pp. 24–25.

⁹³ Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, pp. 242–46.

while information from the inquest was still coming to hand and that he wrote in the expectation that more information would become available; so it is more likely that he began work in the immediate aftermath of the inquest, in the summer of 1086.⁹⁴ It has been estimated that Great Domesday Book would have taken at least 330 days to write, so its production probably continued into 1088.⁹⁵ The main scribe of Great Domesday Book handled English place-names and personal names confidently⁹⁶ and is thought to have been trained in an English scriptorium.⁹⁷ It is therefore assumed that he was 'either a native Englishman' or someone who 'had lived in England from an early age'.⁹⁸

The Languages of Lordship in Conquered England

It is essential to try to comprehend how Domesday Book was made before interpreting the matter it contains, for although it transmits precious images of eleventh-century England, they come to us refracted through a complex machinery of distortion. The scale and complexity of the process created abundant opportunity for error, confusion, misrepresentation, and manipulation. The whole structure of the survey was predicated on an elaborate legal fiction constructed around the notion that William was the legitimate successor to Edward the Confessor and that all landholders in 1086 were to justify their tenure on the grounds that they, like William, were the legitimate successors to *antecessores* who held their land on the day King Edward was alive and dead: this explains why the commissioners were required to establish how land held been held on that crucial day.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁴ Thorn and Thorn, 'Writing of Great Domesday Book', pp. 69–72.

⁹⁵ Thorn and Thorn, 'Writing of Great Domesday Book', p. 72.

⁹⁶ Sawyer, 'Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts', p. 495; but note the important qualifications to Sawyer's method registered by Clark, 'Domesday Book — a Great Red-Herring'; and Frank Thorn (pers. comm.) informs me that there are many cases where Exon name forms are better than those of Great Domesday.

⁹⁷ Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais', p. 70; Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts', pp. 98–99.

⁹⁸ Rumble, 'Domesday Manuscripts', p. 84.

⁹⁹ Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History*, pp. 175–83; George Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), 91–116; George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–44.

information recorded in each entry in Domesday Book was determined by a range of factors: the way the terms of reference were framed; the manner in which different groups of commissioners chose to interpret their brief; the quality and availability of written evidence, and the fallibility of memory in its absence; the extent to which landholders were able to manipulate oral and written testimony; the scope for confusion inherent in the different legal and social structures of England, Normandy, and other parts of northern Europe; the variety of languages in which testimony was supplied, assessed, disputed, and recorded; the variety of media deployed to record this testimony; and the scope for scribal error in the production and transmission of text. Domesday scholarship has become increasingly sensitive to these possibilities; but little work has yet been done on the extent to which language shaped Domesday evidence, and this leaves a major field of enquiry to be explored.

Pressing among the questions which need to be addressed are these: what words, concepts, and phenomena lie behind the formulae used to describe pre-Conquest lordship in Domesday Book, and were these common currency on either side of the channel and either side of the Conquest? The remainder of this paper sketches one way of addressing these questions.

A crucial first step is to establish the frequency and distribution of formulaic patterns in Domesday Book, for this enables us to reach back to the moment when much of the Domesday evidence was first committed to writing. To this end, I have compiled a database of tenurial formulae drawn from one hundred entries from each of the shires covered by Domesday Book. The results of this process are published elsewhere; Table 9 is extracted from one of the outputs.¹⁰⁰

Each shire is represented by a single column, each Latin tenurial formula by a single row, and the numbers represent the frequency with which particular formulae occur in each shire. Three patterns emerge. First, there is a marked tendency for particular types of formulae to occur in certain circuits but not in others. In this case, it is clear that formulae commencing 'hanc terram tenuit [x] de [y]' or 'hanc terram tenuit [x] homo [y]' (where [y] is in the genitive case) occur frequently in circuit III but scarcely at all elsewhere. Second, it is possible to identify formulae which occur frequently in particular counties (and sometimes pairs of counties) which rarely occur elsewhere in that circuit or the rest of Domesday Book. For

¹⁰⁰ Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure', pp. 74–80 (for the methodology), and pp. 95–102 for more extensive tabular extracts.

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		
Circuit 3					Circuit 4					Circuit 5						Circuit 6						Circuit 7					
Bedfordshire	Buckinghamshire	Cambridgeshire	Hertfordshire	Middlesex	Leicestershire	Northamptonshire	Oxfordshire	Staffordshire	Warwickshire	Cheshire	Gloucestershire	Herefordshire	Shropshire	Worcestershire	Worcestershire*	Derbyshire	Huntingdonshire	Lincolnshire	Nottinghamshire	Rutland	Yorkshire	Essex	Norfolk	Suffolk	Suffolk*	Total	
1																										1	586
1																										1	587
	1																									1	588
	1	6						1																		9	589
1																										1	590
	2																									2	591
	1	1																								2	592
	1																									1	593
	1																									1	594
	1																									1	595
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	2																									2	597
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	1																									1	605
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						1																				1	607
	1		1																							2	608
	2																									2	609
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1																										1	613
	1																									1	614
2																										2	615
	3																									3	616
1																										1	617
	1																									1	618
1																										1	619
	1		1																							2	620

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		
Circuit 3					Circuit 4					Circuit 5						Circuit 6						Circuit 7					
Bedfordshire Buckinghamshire Cambridgeshire Hertfordshire Middlesex					Leicestershire Northamptonshire Oxfordshire Staffordshire Warwickshire					Cheshire Gloucestershire Herefordshire Shropshire Worcestershire Worcestershire*						Derbyshire Huntingdonshire Lincolnshire Nottinghamshire Rutland Yorkshire						Essex Norfolk Suffolk Suffolk*				Total	
1	22	1	11	2																						37	621
1				2																						3	622
				1																						1	623
1																										1	624
1																										1	625
1																				1	626						
																				1	627						
																				1	628						
1																				1	629						
																				1	630						
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1																				1	653						
																				1	654						
																				1	655						

example, the formula ‘hanc terram tenuit [x] homo [y] et uendere potuit’ (‘[x] the man of [y] held this land and could sell’) occurs far more frequently in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire than elsewhere in circuit III (line 621). Third, it is occasionally possible to show that the landholdings of particular tenants-in-chief were recorded using unique or distinctive formulae. Columns 26 and 36 represent the fees of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds respectively, and these are distinctive in various respects. These patterns make it possible to infer the existence of some of the documents which the scribes of Great and Little Domesday drew upon: the first confirms the existence and reveals the scope of the ‘circuit returns’ produced by each group of commissioners; the second suggests that these returns sometimes drew on documents produced at meetings of shire courts during the inquest; and the third suggests that a few tenants-in-chief managed to get their own ‘seigneurial returns’ incorporated into the final product — with all the obvious benefits.¹⁰¹ It thus emerges that Domesday evidence is decisively shaped by the processes which brought it into being: to varying degrees, the results of the fourth stage of the Domesday process illuminate the other three.

Having isolated the types of formulae used in particular circuits, counties, and fees, the next step is to identify the concepts and phenomena with which they are concerned. My database also facilitates this analysis, as Table 10 illustrates. This shows that circuit III is relatively informative on the structures of pre-Conquest lordship, conveying information about the social status of pre-Conquest landholders (line 74), power of alienation (lines 76–77), commendatory lordship (lines 81–84), and different forms of tenure (lines 93–94, 96).

The final step is to interpret the formulae themselves and to consider their intended meaning. To illustrate some possibilities, we may examine four entries taken from a single folio in the Cambridgeshire Domesday.

*Ipse comes tenet Suauesye [...] Hoc Manerium tenuit Eddeua.*¹⁰²

*In Draitone tenent v sochemanni de comite iiii hidas et dimidiam [...] Ipsimet sochemanni tenuerunt sub Eddeua et potuerunt uendere cui uoluerunt.*¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Above, note 49.

¹⁰² GDB 195a (Cambridgeshire 14:55). ‘The count [Count Alan] himself holds Swavesey [...]. Eadgifu held this manor.’

¹⁰³ GDB 195a (Cambridgeshire 14:56). ‘In Drayton five sokemen hold four and a half hides from the count [...]. The sokemen themselves held [it] under Eadgifu, and could sell to whom they would.’

In Suafam tenet Goisfridus de comite i hidam et iii uirgatas [...] Hanc terram tenuerunt vi sochemanni sub Eddeuā; non potuerunt sine ejus licentia recedere.¹⁰⁴

In Wiuelingham tenet i sochemannus de comite i uirgam terrae [...] Hanc terram tenuit Osulfus homo Eddeuā; uendere potuit sed soca remansit Abbatia de Ely.¹⁰⁵

The first of these entries records that Count Alan *tenet* Swavesey in 1086 and that Eadgifu *tenuit* this *manerium* in 1066. The verb *teneo* is relatively unproblematic. It presumably translates the Old French *tenir* or *tener*, and Old English *healdan*, ‘to hold’ or ‘to possess’ — a verb which Ælfric glossed as *tenere*,¹⁰⁶ and which frequently occurs in connection with land tenure in the Old English corpus.¹⁰⁷ *Teneo* and its derivatives also occur in many charters issued in both England and Normandy before 1066.¹⁰⁸

The word *manerium* is more problematic. A good deal of scholarship has been devoted to the nature and origins of the Domesday manor,¹⁰⁹ but the origin of the word itself has attracted remarkably little attention. *Manerium* is clearly derived from Latin *maneo*, which could mean ‘to stay’, ‘remain’, ‘wait for’, and ‘be in store for’ in classical Latin, and additionally ‘to dwell’, ‘live in’ in medieval Latin. Precisely when and where its usage became current is less clear. Maitland suggested

¹⁰⁴ GDB 195b (Cambridgeshire 14:63). ‘In Swaffham Geoffrey holds one hide and three virgates from the count [...]. six sokemen held this land under Eadgifu; they could not depart without her leave.’

¹⁰⁵ GDB 195a (Cambridgeshire 14:57). ‘In Willingham one sokeman holds one virgate of land from the count [...]. Oswulf, the man of Eadgifu, held this land: he could sell [it] but the soke remained with the Abbey of Ely.’

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd edn, ed. and collated by Richard Wülcker, 2 vols (London, 1884), I, 99 lines 21–22.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, rev. by Thomas Northcote Toller and Alistair Campbell, 2 vols (Oxford, 1972), s.v. ‘healdan’; Antonette di Paolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky, *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* (Toronto, 2004), proximity search combining ‘heald’ and ‘land’.

¹⁰⁸ For a searchable online edition of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas, see Sean Miller, *Regesta regum Anglorum: A Searchable Edition of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 670–1066* (2001), currently at <<http://ascharters.net/>>. Pre-Conquest Norman ducal charters are edited in *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. by Marie Faroux (Caen, 1961); these and other private acta are treated by Emily Zack Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (Chapel Hill, 1988).

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, John Palmer, ‘The Domesday Manor’, in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by Holt, pp. 139–53, with references to earlier literature.

Table 10. Categorization of selected *TRE* tenurial formulae in Domesday Book.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		Circuit 1					Circuit 2					Circuit 3				
	Formula supplies information concerning:	Berkshire	Hampshire	Kent	Surrey	Sussex	Cornwall	Devonshire	Dorset	Somerset	Wiltshire	Bedfordshire	Buckinghamshire	Cambridgeshire	Hertfordshire	Middlesex
71	TRE formulae															
72	Identification of holder															
73	Name of holder only	44	19	7	14	16	21	12	1	14	4	1	3	1		2
74	Social status of holder	14	1	3	1	4	5	1	18	4	3	35	17	19	17	24
75	Freedom to alienate (go, sell, etc.)															
76	Free	8	8	7	19	17						56	16	28	33	28
77	Not free	12	9				12		1	15	17	6	1	13	11	1
78	Liber							1	5	1						
79	Personal lordship															
80	Commendatio															
81	De (person other than king)	15	16	6	5	11	1				2	1	1	4	14	5
82	De rege	14	36	26	55	29			1			12	9	2	5	16
83	Homo			1								28	8	9	26	19
84	Sub			1								1		17		2
85	Soke, consuetudines, service															
86	Consuetudines													1		
87	Soca											1		4	4	
88	Saca et soca											2				
89	Seruitium												1	8		
90	Description of tenurial units															
91	Allodium	7	28	1		2										
92	Berewica													1		
93	Dominium	2	8			1		11	4			7	1	13	1	26
94	Manerium	6	1	3	4	4	1	1	12	4	7	37	3	17	38	53
95	Membrum										1					
96	Terra			1			11			1	9	41	4	53	25	2
97	Other words and concepts															
98	Ad															
99	De (land)										1	4	3	7	11	4
100	Feudum					1								4		
101	Firma															
102	Geldum		1			1	44	57	54	8	4					
103	In	1	6		1	4								4	5	4
104	Paragium	1	2					8								
105	No data supplied	6	3	42	9	18	12	19	18	1	21	3	2	8	3	6

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		
Circuit 4					Circuit 5						Circuit 6						Circuit 7					
Leicestershire	Northamptonshire	Oxfordshire	Staffordshire	Warwickshire	Cheshire	Gloucestershire	Herefordshire	Shropshire	Worcestershire	Worcestershire*	Derbyshire	Huntingdonshire	Lincolnshire	Nottinghamshire	Rutland	Yorkshire	Essex	Norfolk	Suffolk	Suffolk*	Total	
																						71
32	2	13	4	2	47	56	44	6	27		1					1	16	3	9	2	424	72
1	1		16	21	45	11	3	6	13	4			2			2	38	55	56	9	449	73
																						74
4		13	1	2		9	14	3	22										1	14	303	75
			1	2				1	4	1									1	1	109	76
1	29	11	7	29	5			9									2				100	77
																						78
																		11	36	13	60	79
3				1	1	4	1	2	7	6							6	12	2		126	80
2						4		1	3								5		5		225	81
								1											3		95	82
								1									1	7	3		33	83
																						84
			1							7						1			1	3	13	85
										2									15	8	36	86
12	1		2							2		2				4			2	7	34	87
								1	1	31										6	48	88
																						89
																						90
								9			4		2	3	1			4		1	38	91
						4			4	7						1			2		25	92
4	2	2		2	13	15	12	7	15	3						74		54	6	44	23	92
			1			2	1														467	93
15	1	11	2	2		1		6	4	3	4		55	58	8	16				1	5	94
																						95
																						96
																						97
						2			2	7											0	98
										2											41	99
																					7	100
																					0	101
						2		1		2	91	86	98	92	13	27					581	102
2	1																2	2	2		34	103
					1																12	104
35	36	61	33	26		5	32	3	22	29	9	13		5	2	2	4		1	3	492	105

that 'the term *manerium* seems to have come in with the Conqueror',¹¹⁰ and although he supplied no supporting evidence for this supposition, he was almost certainly right. The word does not occur in a single genuine pre-Conquest charter.¹¹¹ Nor does it occur in any other pre-Conquest English source.¹¹² Since the word is so obviously related to the Old French *maneir*, it would be natural to assume that the word is a Norman loanword.¹¹³ However, neither of these words occurs in the corpus of pre-Conquest Norman charters.¹¹⁴ Indeed, the only exception proves the rule: this is a postscriptal note appended to a charter issued by Duke William in Normandy between 1063 and 1066, which says that William later gave 'unum manerium [...] in marchia Doresete et Devenesire' after he became King of England.¹¹⁵ The word *manerium* occurs in 51 of the 353 charters in the most recent edition of William's *acta*, but with only one possible exception, all of these relate to property in England.¹¹⁶ Several of these relate to property in

¹¹⁰ Frederic William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England*, new edn with foreword by James Clarke Holt (Cambridge, 1987), p. 108.

¹¹¹ *Manerium* does occur in some 'pre-Conquest' charters which were doctored or forged after the Conquest: for example S 119, 189, 200, 213, 343a, 370, 538, 540, 741, 774, 1000, 1002, 1039, 1190, and 1191. It also occurs in post-Conquest endorsements or rubrics to certain genuine charters, and in post-Conquest translations of two authentic texts (S 1458 and 1577).

¹¹² David R. Howlett, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Fascicule VI: M* (Oxford, 2001), s.v. (p. 1703), cites *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, vol. I: *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066–1100*, ed. by Henry William Carless Davis (Oxford, 1913), pp. 120 and 122 (calendar nos 52 and 149) as the earliest references. However, the former is a twelfth-century Westminster forgery (*Regesta*, ed. by Bates, no. 293) and the latter (*ibid.*, no. 60), is dated 1082 and is therefore not the earliest recorded usage of *manerium*.

¹¹³ For the etymology and early usage of the word, see *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. by Charles Talbot Onions (Oxford, 1966), s.v. 'manor'; Alain Rey and others, *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, 2 vols (Paris, 1992), s.v. 'manoir', which gives 1155 (Wace) as the first usage of the word; and *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, online at <<http://www.anglo-norman.net>>, s.v. 'maneir'.

¹¹⁴ However, a Vendôme document datable 'before 1040' distinguishes between property which is said to be 'in manere' and 'extra manere': Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), p. 636; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. by Charles Métais, 5 vols (Paris, 1893–1904), no. 30 (I, 50–52).

¹¹⁵ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Faroux, no. 224 (p. 432).

¹¹⁶ *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, index verborum s.v. *manerium* (p. 1027). The possible exception is no. 260, in which Nigel *vicecomes* grants to Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte *inter alia* a share in the produce 'in omnibus maneriis meis' at unspecified locations, but the charter exists only in a fourteenth-century copy and may have been interpolated, and the clause in question could anyway refer to property in England.

England granted to beneficiaries in Normandy,¹¹⁷ and four of them relate to property in both England and Normandy but use *manerium* only in respect of the former.¹¹⁸ One of the latter is an authentic original, issued by King William in favour of Saint-Étienne, Caen, between 1066 and 1077: this records and confirms grants of several properties in Normandy and England, but whereas *villa*, *terra*, and *beneficium* are used to describe the former, *manerium* is used exclusively for the latter.¹¹⁹ The matter would repay further research, but it looks probable that *manerium* was a post-Conquest neologism, first used in connection with the specific tenurial circumstances of conquered England.¹²⁰

The second Domesday entry records that five sokemen at Drayton held four and a half hides *sub* Eadgifu and could sell (*uendere*) to whom they would; and this may be compared with the third entry which records that six sokemen at Swaffham held *sub* Eadgifu but were unable to depart (*recedere*) without her permission. What were these formulae intended to convey? Their function was almost certainly to distinguish between personal lordship and dependent land tenure. By comparing corresponding entries in *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, *Inquisitio Eliensis*, and Great Domesday Book, it is possible to show that formulae using the words *sub*, *de*, and *homo* were used interchangeably by scribes at different stages in the Domesday process.¹²¹ Thus, in this case, the corresponding entry in *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis* says that the sokemen of Drayton were Eadgifu's *homines* ('men').¹²² It thus emerges that such formulae were used to describe the bond of personal lordship known to modern scholars as commendation. This form of lordship was ubiquitous throughout early medieval society and would have been

¹¹⁷ *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, nos 45, 54, 55, 60, 65, 144, 146, 167, 168, 207, 211, 212, 255, 258a and 260.

¹¹⁸ *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, nos 45, 54, 65 ('in Anglia duos manerios'), 212.

¹¹⁹ *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, no. 45.

¹²⁰ It is therefore tempting to connect its usage with George Garnett's argument (most fully developed in his *Conquered England*) that the Conquest caused a radical transformation in the tenurial structure of England, driven in part by the Conqueror's novel claim to be the source of all tenure in England — a claim which he could not and did not make with respect to Normandy.

¹²¹ John Horace Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the XIth and XIIth Centuries* (London, 1895), pp. 21–35; Peter Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 73–76.

¹²² *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, ed. by Hamilton, p. 90. The six sokemen of Swaffham in our third example are also said to have been *homines* of Eadgifu in *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (*ibid.*, p. 13) and *sub* Eadgifu in GDB.

familiar to elite society on either side of the Channel before and after 1066.¹²³ The Old French word was presumably *homage*, Latinized as (or perhaps derived from) *homagium*,¹²⁴ but the latter was rare in pre-Conquest Norman charters, which more often used formulations containing *homo*, *vassalus*, *fidelis*, and occasionally *commendatio* to denote personal lordship.¹²⁵ The most common verbs for the act of commendation in Old English were *gebugan* ('to bow, submit') if the active verb were assigned to the subordinate party, or *underfon* ('to receive') if it were assigned to the lord; the noun *mannrædenn* was sometimes used to describe the resulting condition, though more often the subordinate party was simply said to have become his lord's *man*.¹²⁶ Latin *sub* translates Old English *under*, a word associated with the act of homage in vernacular sources: for example, a tenth-century charter records how a certain Æthelstan 'gebeh under Wulfgar æt Norðhealum' ('submitted himself under Wulfgar of Norðhealum'), probably to obtain the latter's support during a property dispute.¹²⁷

It is therefore clear that the sokemen of Drayton and Swaffham were commended to Eadgifu; but why were the former said to have been able to 'sell' their land whereas the latter were unable to 'withdraw' without her permission? The question puzzled Maitland, who thought that such expressions described the quality of commendation.¹²⁸ However, there is cumulatively overwhelming evidence that they were in fact intended to differentiate land held in dependent tenure from that which was not. Two points make this as good as certain. First, Domesday contains several entries which assert that pre-Conquest tenants were unable to alienate their land *because* it was leased, rented, or held in some form of dependent tenure. Second, numerous pre-Conquest Norman and English charters differentiate between allodial property (i.e. land held with full property rights) and land held in dependent tenure by asserting that, whereas the former could be alienated,

¹²³ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), especially pp. 22–34 (for the concept in general), 117–19, 126–33, 149, 158–60, 166–67, 179–80 (for France 900–1100), 331–33, 338–42 (for England, 900–1066).

¹²⁴ David R. Howlett and others, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: Fascicule IV, F-G-H* (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *homagium* (pp. 1164–65).

¹²⁵ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Faroux, 'index rerum', contains no references to *homagium*, one to *commandatio* [sic], twenty-two to *fidelis* (excluding address clauses), thirty-one to *homo* where the word is interpreted by Faroux to mean vassal, and four to *vassallus*.

¹²⁶ Bosworth, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, rev. by Toller and Campbell, s.v. *mannrædenn*.

¹²⁷ S 1447; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, no. 44 (p. 90).

¹²⁸ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 71–73, 100–01, 171–72.

the latter could not.¹²⁹ Common Old English terms for land held in dependent tenure were *lenland* ('leased land') and *gafolland* ('rented land'); common terms for land which was not were *agenland*, *earningland*, and *bocland* (land conveyed by royal diploma).¹³⁰ In early eleventh-century Norman charters, the words *hereditas* and *alodium* were commonly used to describe allodial property, and *beneficium* was the word most commonly used to describe land held in various forms of dependence, and thus without such freedom.¹³¹ Clauses which assert whether or not beneficiaries were to enjoy freedom to alienate property frequently occur in charters issued before 1066 in Normandy¹³² and England.¹³³ It thus emerges that the English and the Normans were familiar with the distinction between allodial property and dependent tenure, and that they were accustomed to using broadly analogous formulations, though not necessarily identical vocabulary, to articulate those distinctions throughout the eleventh century. It was therefore natural for the commissioners of circuit III to deploy this vocabulary.

¹²⁹ Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 227–36; Baxter, 'Lordship and Justice', pp. 396–98.

¹³⁰ Bosworth, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, rev. by Toller and Campbell, s.v.

¹³¹ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Faroux, index rerum, lists the occurrence of the words *alodium*, *alodum*, *alodus* in 43 of 223 charters; *beneficium* in 41; and *feudum* and *prae-carium* in just two and one charters respectively. For discussion, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, pp. 96–108 (for allods), 51–65, 74–80, 96–97, 104–12 (for benefices and other forms of dependent tenure). See also Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 48–52, 133–80. There is no recorded use of *alodium* in England before the Conquest: R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: Fascicule I, A-B* (Oxford, 1975), s.v. *alodium* (p. 69).

¹³² Examples are collected by Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, pp. 74–80.

¹³³ The dispositive sections of pre-Conquest royal diplomas routinely assert that beneficiaries were free to dispose of the land in question however they chose; pre-Conquest leases frequently assert that the beneficiary should enjoy the right to assign the usufruct of the property in question to one or more heirs, but that the property should revert to the lessor's control when the terms of the lease expired; and Anglo-Saxon vernacular wills often describe or assert the power of alienation enjoyed by testators and beneficiaries. For recent surveys, see Patrick Wormald, 'On *Pa Wæpnedhealfe*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. by Nick Higham and David Hill (London, 2000), pp. 264–79 (pp. 264–68); Julia Barrow, 'From the Lease to the Certificate: The Evolution of Episcopal Acts in England and Wales c. 700–c. 1250', in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. by Christoph Haidachter and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 529–42 (pp. 529–32); and K. Lowe, 'The Nature and Effect of the Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Will', *Journal of Legal History*, 19 (1998), 23–61; Julie Mumby, 'Transfers of Property by the Laity in Anglo-Saxon England: The Disposition of Property at Death' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 2011).

Our fourth entry records that Oswulf, the man of Eadgifu, held one virgate at Willingham and could sell it 'but the *soca* remained with the abbey of Ely'. Oswulf was evidently commended to Eadgifu and held his land with freedom to alienate, but how should the soke clause be interpreted? *Soca* derives from Old English *socn*, itself derived from Old English *secan* ('to seek'). In eleventh-century England, lords with soke rights were entitled to collect certain customary renders and dues and any judicial fines incurred in public courts by those who owed them soke. This meant that soke lords had a financial incentive to prosecute men who owed them soke if they got into legal trouble. It follows logically that men would tend to seek judicial protection from lords who did not have their soke, and Domesday Book contains clear evidence that this was indeed the case: in Suffolk more than 80 per cent of free men and sokemen commended themselves to lords who did not have their soke.¹³⁴ All this makes it probable that Oswulf commended himself to Eadgifu partly *because* the soke of his land pertained to the Abbot of Ely, in the hope that she would afford him judicial protection should the abbot ever seek to prosecute him. The question as to whether this pattern was familiar in Normandy before 1066 is problematic. The absence of quantitative data of the quality supplied by Domesday Book makes direct comparison impossible. Seigneurial lordship of a type broadly analogous to soke undoubtedly existed in pre-Conquest Normandy, where it lurked behind words such as *consuetudines*, *coustuma*, *mos*, *ritus*, and *bannum* in the charters.¹³⁵ In many parts of France in the early eleventh century, seigneurial lordship had made deep inroads into the structures of 'public' government formerly exercised by kings, dukes, and counts.¹³⁶ These inroads were perhaps fewer and lesser in Normandy than elsewhere in France.¹³⁷ However, the suspicion remains that seigneurial lordship was more ubiquitous and penetrating in Normandy than in England, not least because modest landholders were unable to use commendatory lordship to protect themselves from it. Here, then, is a hypothesis: the Domesday commissioners adopted the English term *socn* using the Latinized nominative *soca* because it related to a form of lordship which was in important respects peculiar to England.

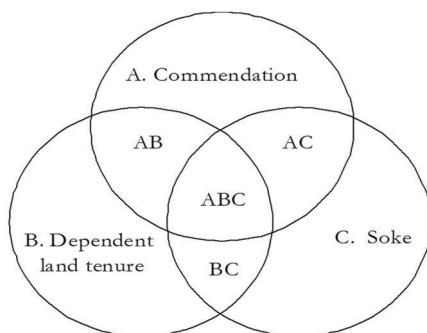
¹³⁴ Baxter, 'Lordship and Justice', pp. 412–17.

¹³⁵ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Faroux, index rerum, s.v.

¹³⁶ See, for example, Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200*, trans. by Caroline Higgitt (New York, 1991), pp. 9–45.

¹³⁷ David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), pp. 64, 121–22, 180.

It emerges that, notwithstanding the scope for confusion, error, and distortion inherent in their task, the commissioners of circuit III found ways of articulating some of the complexities of pre-Conquest land tenure and lordship. They adopted a flexible formulaic convention which enabled them to distinguish between commendation, dependent land tenure, and soke, and the various possible combinations of these forms. The principal permutations are illustrated in a schematic diagram below.



Each of our four entries can be mapped onto this schema. The sokemen of Drayton were commended to Eadgifu but did not hold in dependent tenure (position A); the sokemen of Swaffham were commended to and held in dependent tenure from Eadgifu (position AB); Oswulf the man of Eadgifu in Willingham could alienate (position A in relation to her) but owed soke to the Abbot of Ely (position C in relation to him). Examples could be multiplied to demonstrate that the formulaic conventions of circuit III covered all of the main possibilities.¹³⁸

This was possible in part because the Domesday survey was a multilingual process, for this meant that the commissioners could draw on a wider range of legal vocabulary and were therefore able to pinpoint phenomena with greater precision than might otherwise have been possible. Where they could deploy words and concepts to describe phenomena which were common to English and Norman society, as with commendatory lordship and dependent land tenure, they did so; where they encountered culturally specific phenomena, as with *soca*, the English vernacular root form prevailed; and where neither the English nor French vocabulary was sufficiently precise to convey a range of meanings and associations, new terminology was adopted, as with *manerium*. Not all of the Domesday

¹³⁸ For further illustration of this model, see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, pp. 204–69; Baxter, ‘Lordship and Justice’, pp. 391–98.

commissioners were so rigorous or inventive in the way they interpreted this aspect of their brief, and it remains a major challenge for Domesday scholarship to determine and compare how they did so. However, at least one group of commissioners appears to have registered and exploited the fact that multilingualism enriched the language of lordship in conquered England.

This paper has identified a major gap in Domesday studies and has proposed ways in which it could be filled. Scholars have become increasingly sensitive to the fact that Domesday evidence is shaped by the way it was made, but until now they have tended to focus on administrative and documentary processes without sufficiently considering the extent to which these were themselves a function of language and the cultural assumptions it encodes. The implications of this are far-reaching. To address the problems considered in this paper would deepen our understanding of much of the matter Domesday Book contains.

ROMAN PAST AND ROMAN LANGUAGE IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

Lars Boje Mortensen

In medieval chronicles one often comes across references like ‘as you can read in the History of the Franks’ or ‘as we read in the histories of Rome’.¹ This sort of bibliographical sloppiness will of course be punished in modern students’ essays, but in the world of medieval texts and libraries the references usually worked well enough because more often than not there was one (or a very few) recognized master narrative(s) of a certain people, even if it existed in various versions, abbreviations, updates, etc. There was no reason to distinguish sharply between the narrative of past events and the past events themselves, and *historia* therefore primarily designated the narrative level; it meant ‘the account’. When alternative histories began to proliferate in the later Middle Ages, and especially after the invention of printing and the gradual rise of historical antiquarianism, the notion of the ‘History of the Romans’ began to slide into the modern concept of an abstract past that was disconnected from one or more specific narratives. Finally in the nineteenth century the prevailing idea of history became that of an abstract map that had to be drawn and filled in with details by professional historians — but, significantly, *one* map standing in a ‘scientific’ relationship with the past it

¹ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SSRG, 2, 3rd edn (Leipzig 1917), I. 37: ‘In Hystoria Francorum [...] leguntur’; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of ‘De gestis Britonum’* (*‘Historia regum Britannie’*), ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), ch. 54: ‘[...] ut in Romanis reperitur hystoriis’. Quotations and translations from Geoffrey below will all be from this edition. Although it is divided into books, it also uses the traditional chapter numbers which I refer to here because they are compatible with older editions and previous references in the scholarly literature.

represents. This is not to say that professional historians did not acknowledge that it was difficult to obtain an approximated archimedic position from which to view history objectively (although it was an influential ideal), but it did mean that they agreed on the salient features of the territory — a series of institutional structures and political events.

The resulting nation-state and politically oriented master narratives began to be challenged in the 1960s and 1970s by — among others — the aspirations of ‘histoire totale’ and social history, by postcolonialism and narrativist philosophy, but it is perhaps only now that the gates of the traditional empiricist fortress have been fully breeched by the recent trend of studies in cultural memory. The insistence on a multiplicity of competing narratives by different groups and from different positions in time and space has undone the ideal of the past as *one* territory to be mapped. Similarly the emphasis on the ideological framing of which parts and stories of the past are left aside by the institutions of memory — including the professional historians mostly acting as the memory of the nation — to a significant degree blurs the image of the historian as the discoverer of *one* past with its set number of relevant sources, themes, and problems.²

Even if we now, in contrast to medieval scholars, begin to operate with multiple or even an infinite number of valid narratives, this recent trend implies in one way a stronger kinship between modern and medieval historians because it shifts the balance from the represented (the past to be discovered) towards the representation (the narrative and its communicative situation). In other words: the more we realize that historical knowledge is as much a result of forgetting certain aspects of the past, canonizing others, and investing in specific regional, national, and thematic plots and myths, the more we can sympathize with medieval chroniclers because to them the past manifested itself only as narratives to be found in written, spoken, or sung stories or narratives to be shaped by themselves through mythopoetical action.³

² A recent influential defence of the traditional role of the historian is Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History*, 2nd edn (London, 2000). A more self-critical essay from within the discipline is offered by Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Unsichere Geschichte: Zur Theorie historischer Referentialität* (Stuttgart, 2001). A classic account of cultural memory and its implications is Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).

³ On inventive and ‘mythopoetic’ aspects of medieval historiography, cf. Monica Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, 1996) and Lars B. Mortensen, ‘Sanctified Beginnings and Mythopoietic Moments: The First Wave of Writing on the Past in Norway, Denmark, and Hungary, c. 1000–1230’, in *The Making of*

This shift has been described very well by the philosopher of history Frank Ankersmit as one from narrative realism towards narrative idealism:⁴ narrative realism takes for granted that the past itself provides a narrative structure, narrativity is a natural propriety of the past; narrative idealism, on the other hand, denies any unmediated narrativity to the past — history acquires narrative patterns only when it is represented. (It probably still needs to be stressed that this position has nothing whatsoever to do with any denial of past reality.) This emphasis on the level of representation and its narrative patterns also lets us focus on medieval historical writings as aesthetic entities in a different way. As representations of a certain slice of the past, again Ankersmit's terminology, historical writings in their entirety cannot be seen only as a sum of statements embellished by a certain rhetoric. Monumental narrative representations of the past, such as the remarkable ones produced in the first half of the twelfth century in England by Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth, must be understood in their entirety as 'linguistic things' in aesthetic terms. To put it differently: the narratives cannot be reduced to true and false statements, ideology, and bias clad in a certain rhetoric and style; although such an analysis can also be valuable, it must be supplemented with one which takes account of the image projected by the whole and the place it occupies within a contemporary hierarchy of available media, languages, linguistic registers, and textual horizons. I shall return to these very general and somewhat abstract remarks towards the end of my contribution.

Within the field of medieval multilingualism the present paper focuses mainly on the effects of two registers of Latin, although it also attempts indirectly to illustrate a basic difference between written vernacular and written Latin in non-Romance speaking regions of Europe. Whereas Latin in Italy, Spain, Provence, etc. could always be perceived as the formal and high register of the spoken language (even after the introduction of more or less standardized versions of written vernaculars),⁵ the situation was of course radically different in the Germanic- and Celtic-speaking North. This meant, among other things, that the bookish and sacred flavour of Latin tended to be stronger: for the illiterate, Latin was completely incomprehensible, and for those who became initiated in the world of

Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300), ed. by Lars B. Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2006), pp. 247–73.

⁴ Frank R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford, 2001).

⁵ The Romance situation was similar to that of Byzantium and the Slavonic world in which the high written register was perceived to be of the same language as was spoken in the street (although much of the high register was not immediately understandable without education or explanation).

books, writing was (at least before approximately 1200) normally perceived to be a skill associated with the mastery of a difficult foreign language, not only a set of learned adjustments of vocabulary and phonology. Even if England had come into an intermediate position here with a new French-speaking elite from the late eleventh century on, this basic difference in the perception (or 'construction') of Latin in the two parts of Europe must be kept in mind. That may be a factor behind the warm welcome some of the classicizing trends of twelfth-century Latin enjoyed among historians from northern Europe — perhaps a phenomenon that can be likened to the earlier exclusive games of Carolingian court poetry and insular hermeneutic Latin, with the difference that twelfth-century humanism was a much wider phenomenon in terms of both geographic and linguistic extension.

In any case twelfth-century Latin saw such a significant rise in both variety and sheer volume of writing that this in turn must have reflected back on the perception of (non-Romance) vernacular writing. From the viewpoint of modern language departments we have a natural tendency to make the most of vernacular beginnings, but if we, for a moment, try to forget the revolutionary turn vernacular writing took all over Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we can perhaps acknowledge that seen from the point of view of twelfth-century writers Latinity witnessed the more conspicuous dynamic. The language of the Romans was once again on a conquering course.

The Roman Empire and the British Past

It is in this general linguistic and literary framework that a new kind of 'Roman-ness' emerges in a number of writers, including the two historians I have selected here, Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth. All over twelfth-century Europe the dialogue with the ancient Roman past intensified to such a degree that it had a new formative impact on national historical writing, and in the Anglo-Norman kingdom the instances are particularly rich and diverse. My aim, however, is partly to show that these two works, with all their differences, are expressions of the same underlying interest and fashion, namely of the medieval humanism emerging in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶

⁶ On the interest in Roman history as reflected in the manuscript record, cf. Lars B. Mortensen, 'The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages: A List of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Landolfus Sagax Manuscripts', *Filologia Mediolatina*, 6–7 (1999–2000), 101–200, and Marek T. Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages: The 'Historia Romana' and the Manuscript Bamberg, Hist. 3* (Leiden, 2007).

Two points under the heading of 'Romanness' can be fairly easily distinguished, namely Rome as a past (and present) superpower, and Rome as a philosophical, poetical, conceptual, and linguistic reservoir.

The first of the twelve books of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is devoted to the Roman dominion of Britain from Caesar to Theodosius.⁷ It is structured as ruler portraits with asides on relevant dealings and affiliations with British history. The gallery of emperors is clearly set up as a model for contemporary rulers; even the apostatic Julian gets his praise (I. 40). When summarizing the Roman period in the beginning of book two, Henry, with his usual lesson on the futility of earthly existence,⁸ exclaims:

Tractatum est in superioribus de quadraginta quinque imperatoribus qui tam Britanniam quam ceteras mundi partes rexerunt, quorum si aliqui gloria potiuntur in celis, illam tantum habent, quia iam hic nullam habent. Viluit enim sermocinatio de eis, et prolixior confabulatio de actibus eorum uidetur amara, tedii scilicet et odii generatrix.⁹

This tirade certainly begs the question of the status of the Roman past, and makes us wonder why the emperors are generally being praised in book one and listed at length in the letter to King Henry I in book eight.¹⁰ The overall structure, however, should convince us that the Romans are important for insular identity. The other conquering peoples later in the history of the Island are all in principle seen as scourges of God, though in practice Henry displays both sympathy and attention to detail throughout his treatment. Apart from stressing the recurrent theme of the irrelevance of life on earth, the historical theme he is unfolding is the relatively complex concept of the entity and unity of the settling and dominion of Britain.¹¹

⁷ I am using the admirable standard edition, commentary, and translation by Diana Greenway: Henry, *Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People* (Oxford, 1996).

⁸ A convincing reading of the compatibility of Henry's *contemptus mundi*-theme with his real interest in history has been given by Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 11–48.

⁹ Greenway, *Historia Anglorum*, II. 1. 'Consideration has been given above to the forty-five emperors who ruled both Britain and the rest of the world: if any of them possess glory in heaven they have that alone, since they have none here and now. Indeed, discussion of them has become worthless, and longer discourse on their deeds seems distasteful, a cause for loathing and disgust.'

¹⁰ The list of Roman emperors there (VIII. 59–174) is discontinued between Constantine and Pippin (154–55) ('Pippinus igitur rex Francorum Romam primus liberauit').

¹¹ Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes': Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1995), p. 196.

There is no strong identification between present-day Norman England and the Roman past, but a certain identification is implied as well as a special status of Roman emperors as worthy exemplars for modern rulers.

The grandeur of Rome springs from almost every page of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. The book can be read as one big attempt to out-Roman the Romans, culminating in Arthur's annihilation of Lucius Hiberus's imperial army in Gaul (chaps 158–76) — the showdown between Arthur's Empire of the West and North and the south-eastern Empire of the Romans. The importance of Rome as a measuring rod, however, is especially pervasive in the first, pre-Arthurian half of Geoffrey's work in which he clearly competes with Virgil and other Roman master-narratives.¹² Like the Romans the Britons rose out of the ashes of Troy¹³ and were equally promised a new territory by a pagan goddess. The sack of Rome which we think was perpetrated by Gauls in the fourth century BC was of course the work of the British Belinus and Brennius (chap. 44), and Caesar (chaps 59–63) and Claudius (chaps 65–68) could only conquer the Island by invitation or through the agency and complicity of British leaders.

In one sense, therefore, Rome is the great other in which the Britons mirror themselves.¹⁴ But Geoffrey's Rome is more than that, because the two powers strongly partake in each other's identity through intermarriage, interbreeding, adoption, and subsequent cultural and military exchange. British stock was already added to the Roman lineage before the foundation of Rome itself, as twenty daughters of the Trojan-turned-Briton Ebraucus married in Italy to Silvius Alba's Trojan-Italian sons as the neighbouring Latin and Sabine wanted nothing of them (chap. 27). During the age of Augustus the British king Cymbelinus excelled in arms because

¹² Fine readings of the historical inspiration from Virgil in twelfth-century literature are given by Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, 1987), chap. 5: 'Virgil and the Historical Consciousness of the Twelfth Century: The Roman *d'Eneas* and *Erec et Enide*', pp. 157–95.

¹³ Cf. Caesar's words in Geoffrey's history chap. 54: 'Hercle ex eadem prosapia nos Romani et Britones orti sumus, quia ex Troiana gente processimus' ('By Hercules, We Romans and the Britons share a common ancestry, being both descended from the Trojans').

¹⁴ Geoffrey's Britain as an equal of Rome is mentioned e.g. by Neil Wright in the introduction to his edition, *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568 (Cambridge, 1985), p. xix, but the role of Roman history beyond the Virgilian-Trojan inspiration has to my knowledge never been thoroughly thematized in Galfridian scholarship; Michael J. Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1994) is a partial exception because he devotes substantial space to the pre-Arthurian material, though this does not lead to an appreciation of Roman history as a guiding principle typical of twelfth-century humanist historiography.

he had been trained in Rome by the Emperor himself (chap. 64).¹⁵ The Roman general Hamo disguises himself as a Briton; he masters their tongue because he was brought up by British hostages in Rome (chap. 66). Conversely the peace king Coilus had learnt the ways of the Romans in Rome (chap. 71). Carausius asks the Romans for help in providing a fleet, but afterwards turns against the Emperor Severus's son, Bassianus, and kills him (chap. 75), and Maximianus is invited to Britain because he is half British (chap. 81). When the Romans leave the island they instruct the Britons in military technology and tactics (chap. 91). To cut short the series of examples, let me just jump finally to the striking fact that the mighty Emperor Constantine was half British: he was the son of a British princess, the beautiful Helen as it were, and the Roman general Constantius. He strengthened the Roman Senate by electing three uncles on his mothers side to the honour (chaps 78–79).

I think that Geoffrey's and Henry's attitudes are similar: Rome, on the one hand, is the different and distant exemplary military power, and the emperors are exemplary rulers. On the other hand the Island of Great Britain and Rome have a stake in each other's past, and not an insignificant one — there is a certain, limited identification of the two.¹⁶

If we throw a quick glance towards the Continent we can contextualize the relevance of Rome in Anglo-Norman historiography. In contemporary German historiography we find a similar rise in the interest of the Roman past, and the identification between the past *res publica Romana* and the present imperial polity is, not surprisingly, very strong. We see this clearly both in works contemporary with Henry's and Geoffrey's, namely those of Otto of Freising (*Chronica* and *Gesta Friderici*) and the anonymous vernacular poem *Kaiserchronik*. The author of the latter uses some of the same techniques as Geoffrey in appropriating the Roman past for his own nation, for instance by emphasizing how much the ancient Roman emperors relied on German knights for their military success.¹⁷ The nations

¹⁵ 'miles strenuus, quem Augustus Caesar nutruerat et armis decorauerat' ('a tireless soldier, who had been brought up by Augustus Caesar and knighted by him').

¹⁶ Although it is problematic which people of Great Britain is to be identified with the Romans. The forward-looking implication for both historians — in spite of Henry's *contemptus mundi* (cf. note 8 above) and Geoffrey's explicit concern for the Britons — is that the Normans should be seen as worthy imitators of the Romans. The Welsh and Bretons are obviously important for Geoffrey, but I tend to follow Michael J. Curley's (and others') interpretation that Geoffrey's Welsh/Breton identity and theme does not contradict a Norman reading of the work (Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*). John Gillingham has presented a stronger Welsh thesis in 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain', *ANS*, 13 (1990), 19–39.

¹⁷ Dieter Kartschoke, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1990; third revised edn, 2000), p. 366.

bordering on Germany towards the east and north brought forth their first monuments of history during the twelfth century, and they also looked to the Roman narratives for a framework. This can be seen in Bohemia and Poland,¹⁸ but it is perhaps achieved with most consequence by Saxo Grammaticus in Denmark around 1200. His way of having the Danes out-Roman the Romans probably drew inspiration from Geoffrey, but in a way he was even more radical in composing a work which had an extremely Roman surface while at the same time denying any possible link or interbreeding or cultural exchange with the ancient Romans.¹⁹

Such comparisons teach us two things about the interest in Rome displayed by Henry and Geoffrey. One is that it cannot be explained solely by the Roman presence in Britain during the four first centuries of our era. The proliferation of Roman histories in the twelfth century and the increased understanding of the Roman past forms part of a common medieval humanistic discourse. The other is that the Anglo-Norman attitude to the Roman nation seems to lie somewhere in the middle of the spectrum between strong adherence to (Germany) and outright rejection of Roman identity (Denmark).

The Changing Chronotope of Latin

Let me proceed to the second aspect of Romanness, Rome as a philosophical, poetical, conceptual, and linguistic reservoir. I will be drawing on the thorough philosophical, stylistic, and rhetorical analysis by the recent editor of Henry of Huntingdon. Thanks to her most of the facts about quotations, literary models, etc. have already been established. On this basis I would like to focus on an object of a different order.

¹⁸ Surveys by Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung in Europa der 'nationes'*, pp. 484–651.

¹⁹ On Saxo's Roman imitation in form and content, see the following fundamental studies by Karsten Friis-Jensen: *Saxo Grammaticus as Latin Poet: Studies in the Verse Passages of the Gesta Danorum* (Rome, 1987); 'Saxo Grammaticus's Study of the Roman Historiographers and his Vision of History', in *Saxo Grammaticus: Tra storiografia e letteratura*, ed. by Carlo Santini (Rome, 1992), pp. 61–81; 'Adhering to the Footprints of These Men as if to Books from Antiquity ...', in *Text and Voice: The Rhetoric of Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Marianne Børch (Odense, 2004), pp. 121–37. I have discussed Saxo's medieval models and his inspiration from Paul the Deacon and Geoffrey of Monmouth in 'Saxo Grammaticus' View of the Origin of the Danes and his Historiographical Models', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin*, 55 (1987), 169–83; 'Saxo og Geoffrey af Monmouth', in *Album amicorum*, ed. by Marianne Pade and others, special issue, *Renaissanceforum*, 3 (2007), <http://www.renaessancesforum.dk/rf_3_2007.htm>; 'The Status of the "Mythical" Past in Nordic Latin Historiography (c. 1170–1220)' forthcoming in a volume on fictionality in medieval narratives, ed. by Panagiotis Agapitos and Lars B. Mortensen.

The perspective chosen here can perhaps best be explained by a little detour. The Alfredian Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius's late antique world history is an earlier example of representing the Roman Empire in an insular context. In this translation, or rather adaptation, of the Orosian text, we very often come across the somewhat strange reiteration 'says Orosius' ('cwæð Orosius').²⁰ As if we did not know after reading just a little bit that this was indeed a work by a Roman Christian hundreds of years ago with a completely different apologetic agenda than that of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon elite around 900. What triggered these references was probably the ambiguous situation of communication inherent in writing as well as the awkwardness produced by the cultural distance and linguistic transfer. When a member of the Anglo-Saxon elite listened to an Orosian story from the Roman past in their own language, there must have been a constant pull towards construing the communicative situation as a *contemporary* cleric teaching us about history or virtue (which was indeed the intention of the adaptation). But that illusion is then constantly broken because the contents clearly refer to a Roman talking to other Romans about strange Roman matters. The 'now' of vernacular communication, so to speak, drags along a 'here' and vice versa.²¹ The awkward gap is mended in a makeshift manner by the recurrent 'says Orosius'.

The problem was intensified by the fact that these were stories coming out of a book. Other types of writing, such as letters and inscriptions, bridged the gap between the circumstances of production and consumption through personal or spatial anchors. A letter was usually carried by someone with knowledge of the sender and the purpose, an inscription was intended to be interpreted at the very same and special place it had been put up in the first place. A book, however, came from the shelves of an ecclesiastical institution and, in principle, talked to you from a ceremonious and lofty position charged with sacred connotations. Even if monastic book production and ecclesiastical libraries were, to some extent, being supplemented by extra-ecclesiastical books during the twelfth century, I would still venture to claim that before approximately 1200 the main connotation of a book was that of religious service and its surrounding Christian learning.²² Here of

²⁰ I am grateful to have been able to use the thorough analysis of this and similar phrases in the unpublished doctoral thesis by Mette Bruus, 'Når oversætteren engagerer sig: Omfortolkning af teksten i to oldengelske historiske oversættelser' (Syddansk Universitet, Odense, 2003).

²¹ For reflections on contemporaneity, distance, and time and on the merging of 'here' and 'now' I am indebted to Anders Johansen, *All Verdens Tid* (Oslo, 2001).

²² I have argued this case in 'The Study of Medieval Latin Literature — An Expanding Field of Little Impact?', in *Mediävistik in 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen*

course the language of book writing matters, and that is of importance in the present context of Latin historiography.

A book is basically speaking from an indeterminate sacred position, but a book in the vernacular at once reveals its place and to some extent also its time of composition. One could suggest the compound 'chronotope' to designate the indications of time and place implicit in the language, and thus say that a written text in the vernacular has a strong chronotope, a Latin text has a weak chronotope. The Anglo-Saxon Orosius is speaking directly from locals to locals — it signals time and space of the communication very specifically. This is not to say that Latin texts do not give themselves away with explicit references to time and place, but they cannot avoid — and often strive for — the additional effect of indeterminacy and eternity inherent in the language.²³ As media analysts label the voice-over narrator coming from nowhere in TV documentaries on nature or lost civilizations 'the voice of God', similarly Latin coming from a book in the early or High Middle Ages had a weak chronotopical specificity, and at its most sacred, it was unspecified except that it came from above.

Given the indeterminacy and eternity effect of Latin, we should, however, not stop short of asking which eternity a group of Latin texts belonged to, or in other words which textual horizon is implicitly displayed and which impact that should have on our interpretation.

Henry of Huntingdon begins his preface by stating the moral utility of history through a quotation from Horace and explains through that how Homer was an excellent moral philosopher because he displays the virtues through the famous heroes of the *Iliad*. Next, in his opening geographical chapter he largely reuses Bede's words, but adds, significantly, relevant quotations and allusions from Solinus, Juvenal, and Virgil. Going through Henry's work one discovers that this penchant for pagan poetry and wisdom is no mere coating. Throughout the narrative Henry monumentalizes certain junctures by shifting into Roman verse, for

und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung, ed. by Hans-Werner Goetz and Jörg Jarnut (Munich, 2003), pp. 135–47 and in 'The Rhetoric of the Latin Page: Authority, Persuasion and Latinity in Medieval and Renaissance Historiography', in *Text and Voice*, ed. by Borch, pp. 64–96.

²³ A striking illustration of the eternity effect of Latin in contrast to vernacular has been made by Minna Skafte Jensen (on a group of sixteenth-century texts) in 'The Language of Eternity: The Role of Latin in 16th-Century Danish Culture', in *Acta conventus neo-latini Torontonensis: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. by A. Dalzell, C. Fantazzi, and R. J. Schoeck (Binghamton, NY, 1991), pp. 41–61.

instance when the Roman gods deplore the loss of King Henry I (VII. 44) or when Henry in his own person delivers an elegy on the lamentable state of England during the reign of Stephen (X. 12) and when he welcomes the advent of Henry II in heroic verse (X. 40). The last two reflective books, eleven and twelve, are entirely poetic, partly inspired by the poetry of the Bible, but to a large extent they also consist of epigrams in the style of Martial. As has been discovered by the editor Diana Greenway and others, Henry was also a creative reader of the new humanist wave in Latin poetry, most famously represented by the so-called Loire poets around the turn of the century, namely Baudri of Bourgueil, Marbod of Rennes, and Hildebert of Lavardin. The fashion ran deeper than a few sophisticated French writers. The new ideological convergence between Roman poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers on the one hand and intellectuals during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries on the other was, as has been so well discussed by Stephen Jaeger, a complex international phenomenon springing from the paradigm shift of learning and cultural ideals in the cathedral schools.²⁴

Historical writing was one of the foremost places to display this new textual landscape. It is very clear in Henry, but no less present in Geoffrey's occasional quotations from ancient authors and his careful pagan mythopoeisis referring to Roman narratives and Roman cults. What this meant, at least in certain literary milieus throughout Western Europe, was a shift in the chronotope of the Latin language. For Bede and for Carolingian scholars the time and place of model Latin was basically a patristic one not directly linked to any political power, nor to one specific place. Jerome's biblical Latin as well as the more elaborate rhetorical levels in the writings of the fathers, had a considerable transparency as an authoritative ecclesiastical voice — it did not associate a certain time and place. The eternity implied in the patristic Latin emulated by Bede and other historians pointed vaguely to the early Church and its long Greek and Hebrew background — though this did not weaken the sacrality of Latin itself.

The textual landscape in which many twelfth-century Latin historians like Henry, Geoffrey, Otto, and Saxo attempted to situate themselves consisted of a combination of patristic and pagan works. They were similarly using the eternity effect of Latin for all it is worth, but this eternity had shifted towards the pagan authors. In this move they represent a specific version of Roman history simultaneously with their presentation of their respective national histories. The new interest in the poetic and gnomic profundities of the ancients is linked to a

²⁴ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994).

historical understanding of the Roman Empire which is qualitatively different from that of Carolingian and other early medieval learning.²⁵

Which came first: interest in the development of the Roman superpower or interest in pagan Roman poets, philosophers, and rhetoricians? There is no doubt a dialectical relationship between the two that needs further elucidation, but the initiating force, I think, may have been the poetic and poetological impetus from the new humanist fascination with the wisdom and expressive power of pagan poets which then triggered a more prosaic interest in the realities of past Roman power and its relevance for understanding the past and present of modern nations.

When we consider such impressive historiographical monuments like those of Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth, we should not just reduce them to reflections of (or sources to) ideology, mentality, and literary history, but also interpret them as significant agents of change: works like these implemented new connotations of Latin which both pointed to a more specific chronotope but also added a new dimension to the eternity of the language which embodied, as no other, divine and human insights. The humanistic learning of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries produced a Latin in which the ancient Romans are always talking simultaneously with the 'modern' authors and hence representations of modern nations also become representations of Roman history. This aspect comes better to the fore, and is of greater interest in our own discussions on historical writing, if we adopt a narrativist idealistic stance and treat all representations of the past in their entirety as linguistic 'things', or monuments, as I would prefer, whose meaning must be construed not only from the referential character of the statements included, but also from the whole as a linguistic sign determined by the status of the handwritten book, and the linguistic and textual hierarchy in which they position themselves and to which they contribute.

²⁵ The Carolingian (and Ottonian) interest in pagan Roman poetry and empire was a phenomenon very marginal to the primary exegetical and liturgical concerns with learning and correct Latinity. Although twelfth-century humanism did have a few models in the ninth and tenth centuries, the place the Roman authors occupied in the eleventh- and twelfth-century schools was of a different magnitude. Furthermore the European wave of national historical writing in the same centuries created an entirely new dynamic for emulation with Rome. Cf. Lars B. Mortensen, 'Working with Ancient Roman History: A Comparison of Carolingian and Twelfth-Century Scholarly Endeavours', in *Gli umanesimi medievali: Atti del II Congresso dell'Internationale Mittelalterinerkomitee* — Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 11–15 settembre 1993, ed. by Claudio Leonardi (Firenze, 1998), pp. 411–20.

CAN AN ENGLISHMAN READ A *CHANSON DE GESTE*?

Andrew Taylor

For the nineteenth-century philologists who have shaped our understanding of French literature, the question posed by my title would have been of little interest. Perhaps an Englishman could read a *chanson de geste*. After all, the great eighteenth-century editor of Chaucer, Thomas Tyrwhitt, read *La Chanson de Roland* in its entirety in the Digby manuscript to gain a better understanding of the Squire's Tale.¹ But such readings, no matter how impressive, say nothing about the poem's circulation in its own day. And on this question, the early editors were firm. The *chansons de geste* were sung epic, performed by professionals, jongleurs, before an audience whose core members were largely illiterate knights. As Léon Gautier, the great champion of the poem, wrote in his edition of 1872, 'the knights found themselves in this poetry. It was made in their image, with the same passion for the Crusade, the same loyalty for or memory of a Royalty that was French and Christian, the same love of shedding blood and good blows'.² This was a world of uncompromised manhood, untainted by the sophistication of writing. It spoke, said Gautier, of the unity of religion and the unity of the fatherland. It was 'France made into a man' ('La France fait homme').³

Léon Gautier published his 1872 edition of the *Chanson de Roland* in Tours, driven into the provinces by the humiliating defeat of the French army by more highly mechanized forces. For him, the literature of French chivalry, above all the

¹ Thomas Tyrwhitt, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, ed. by Charles Cowden Clarke, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1860), III, 302 (note to line 13741).

² Léon Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland, texte critique accompagné d'une traduction nouvelle et précédé d'une introduction historique* (Tours, 1872), p. lxxii.

³ Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland*, p. lxxvi.

Roland, was a way to counter the dual trauma of revolution and national defeat, recapturing the spirit of an age when France was united in its faith and glorious in battle (even when defeated).⁴ There is a direct connection between this romantic vision and the construction of a national literary canon, in particular, the enshrinement of the *Chanson de Roland* in the French lycée system. It is not surprising, given this mission, that the Anglo-Norman provenance of the earliest and best manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, has been studiously ignored. Joseph Bédier's account of the twelfth-century manuscript as 'une tardive transposition en français insulaire' sums up the attitude.⁵ But the national sequestering of the *chanson de geste* is not limited to French editors. M. D. Legge firmly dismisses the *chanson de geste* from the Anglo-Norman literary canon:

By 1100 the *chanson de geste* was a well-established form, soon to go out of favour in courtly circles. It continued to be written in France, but no trace of an Anglo-Norman *chanson de geste* survives. It belonged to the great hall, where lords, attendants, and menials were present together; romances and other works in octosyllabic rhyming couplet belonged to the chamber.⁶

By 'Anglo-Norman *chanson de geste*', of course, Legge means a *chanson de geste* that was *originally composed* in Anglo-Norman; for her, reworkings or adaptations, such as that found in the Digby manuscript, do not count. The interests expressed in this collection of essays addressing multilingualism in medieval England are obviously very different. Within this context, the Digby *Roland* is more likely to be seen not as a belated trace of some literary original but as evidence for the listening (or reading) habits of its day.

Now for Legge, as for so many others, 'the *chanson de geste* belongs to the great hall'. This is a fundamental article of faith. And if by *chanson de geste* one means the great poems of thousands of lines that have come down to us and if by the hall one means, as Gautier did, a minstrel reciting in the hall, then the view is wrong — or

⁴ The role these anxieties played in French philology is discussed by Hans Ulrecht Gumbrecht, 'Un souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé: Friedrich Dietz, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', *Romance Philology*, 40 (1983), 1–37; Joseph Duggan, 'Franco-German Conflict and the History of French Scholarship on the *Song of Roland*', in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. by Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany, 1989), pp. 97–106; and R. Howard Bloch, 'Naturalism, Nationalism, Medievalism', *Romanic Review*, 76 (1985), 341–60.

⁵ Joseph Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1922), p. ii.

⁶ M. Domenica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p. 3.

more precisely, it contradicts such evidence as we have of minstrel performance.⁷ There is no doubt that minstrels or jongleurs, professional entertainers, frequently sang of Roland, but how long were their songs? If you wish to maintain that a *chanson de geste* of say four thousand lines was sung epic you must maintain that a minstrel could recite and *command the attention of his audience* while he recited for periods of considerable length and with some hope of continuing the next day, so as to link his performances together. This is what the *scop* does in Heorot in *Beowulf*, but the *romans* tradition provides no similar examples (even as nostalgic projection). Minstrelsy was a form of conspicuous consumption, a form of chivalric largesse, and at a great feast the more minstrels the better. The detailed pay records for the *menestrellorum multitudo*, over a hundred strong, that performed at the celebration for the knighting of the future Edward II in 1306 give some indication of what minstrelsy at a royal feast might actually have entailed.⁸ Confronted by a total absence of evidence for sustained recitation before an attentive hall, Léon Gautier resorted to his imagination, creating for Old French philology the myth of what he termed *la séance épique*. One can read his account of this epic session in its fullest form in *La Chevalerie* of 1895.⁹

Once the notion of sustained oral recitation is rejected, one must recognize the *chanson de geste* as a genre that evokes oral performance rather than as one that records it.¹⁰ The same holds true for Middle English romances and other works of

⁷ I echo here an argument I have already advanced in *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and their Readers* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 31–36 and 71–75 and elsewhere. The idea of sustained oral delivery remains tenacious. Ian Short, for example, abandons the phrase ‘séance épique’ in his recent edition of the Oxford version, but continues to write of ‘orally performed epic’ and to ‘envisage a multiplicity of oral performances out of which there emerged a more stable, but far from monolithic, version — one which continued to develop under the modifying influences of oral presentation’ (‘Part 1: The Oxford Version’, in *La Chanson de Roland/The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*, ed. by Joseph J. Duggan, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2005) I, 47–48). Philip E. Bennett writes, ‘That epic poems were sung in the twelfth century is not a matter of doubt, unless we wish to disregard every reference both internal and external to the poems themselves, to such performances’ (‘Orality and Textuality: Reading and/or Hearing the *Song of Roland*’, in *Approaches to Teaching the Song of Roland*, ed. by William W. Kibler and Leslie Zarker Morgan (New York, 2006), pp. 146–53 (p. 150)).

⁸ Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff, 1978).

⁹ Léon Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1895), p. 656.

¹⁰ Simon Gaunt, ‘The Oxford *Roland*’s “Oral” Style’, chapter 1 of *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (London, 2001), pp. 25–37, and ‘Fictions of Orality in Troubadour Poetry’, in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and its*

the period. As Mark Amodio argues, albeit for English texts, 'Post-Conquest oral poetics is, as was the Anglo-Saxon oral poetics from which it descends, largely (if not exclusively) non-performative and the representations of oral performance within the extant corpus of Middle English poetry are therefore not reliable indices of oral poetics because they are the fictionalized and romanticized products of highly literate sensibilities'.¹¹ By abandoning, or at the very least calling into question, the familiar image of the minstrel reciting a fundamentally naïve genre before illiterate knights, we open the search for evidence of the Anglo-Norman transmission of the *chanson de geste* to a wide range of possible audiences and readers. One group worth considering is the Austin canons, especially the Austin canons of Oxford, two of whose three houses had been merged into the single abbey of Osney by 1154.

Osney Abbey was founded as a priory in 1129 and it flourished, rapidly becoming 'one of the most influential of Augustinian houses in England' with as many as fifty brothers.¹² In 1149 the nearby secular college of St George's, where there were five or six Austin canons, Geoffrey of Monmouth among them, was merged with the priory, and in about 1154 the priory was raised to the status of an abbey. In 1177 six of the brothers were sent to provide the core of a new establishment of Waltham Abbey, and several other of the Osney canons were appointed as abbots or priors elsewhere.¹³ In addition, a number of Osney canons were appointed as bishops, including Robert de Chesney, who was bishop of the widespread diocese of Lincoln from 1148 to 1167.¹⁴ The abbey was wealthy: at the time of its abolition in 1535 it had an annual income of £655, making it the seventh wealthiest Austin house in England.¹⁵

What exactly were the Augustinian or Austin canons? This may seem an embarrassingly simple question, but it is not that easy to answer. Unlike secular canons, who generally lived independently and who served a particular cathedral or church, regular canons were — more or less — monks. They lived communally

Consequences in Honour of D. H. Green, ed. by Mark Chinca and Christopher Young (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 119–38.

¹¹ Mark Amodio, *Writing the Oral Tradition: Oral Poetics and Literate Culture in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 2004), p. 98.

¹² David Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1953), p. 149.

¹³ *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. by T. Webber and A. G. Watson (London, 1998), p. 403.

¹⁴ See Dorothy M. Owen, 'Chesney, Robert de (d. 1166)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5232>>, and Michael Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1994), pp. 110–11.

¹⁵ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 149.

and they followed a rule; in the case of the Augustinian canons, who only came into existence in the eleventh century, the rule was based on an early letter of St Augustine. But their monastic status was not clear cut. Much later, Erasmus would refer to them scornfully as canons 'to whom [...] the Latin title of regulars is added: an order midway between monks and the canons called secular [...] amphibians such as the beaver'.¹⁶ Erasmus was simply echoing the critique of the twelfth-century Benedictines, who were not sure which was worse: the dangerous innovation of a new order or the grammatical solecism on which it was based. Hugh of Amiens, for one, had enough Greek to know what the word canon meant and observed caustically that 'To be called regular canons is just the same as to be called canon canons'.¹⁷ This ill-defined amphibious status makes it harder to know quite what the life of the canons was like. Historians of the English canons, not that there have been many, stress the flexibility and moderation of the Austin rule and how much it varied from house to house.¹⁸

The big question about the Austin canons is why, if their status and culture were so ill defined, they were so incredibly popular. In the early twelfth century, the Austin canons enjoyed enthusiastic support from Henry I, Queen Matilda, and the English aristocracy.¹⁹ Master Gwymund, first prior of the renewed St Frideswide, Oxford (formerly a college of secular canons) was the King's chaplain. Master Norman, who had been a pupil of St Anselm and was one of the leading brothers at St Botolph's, the first Austin house in England, became the confessor of Queen Matilda.²⁰ Matilda's chaplain was another Austin. Several of Henry's courtiers founded Austin houses, while Henry himself founded no less than five, including the great abbey of Cirencester.²¹ All told, forty-three houses were established during the reign of Henry I, thirty-three of them by members of the royal court.²²

¹⁶ Erasmus, *Colloquies*, ed. and trans. by Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, 1997), I, 629.

¹⁷ *Dialogorum seu quaestionum theologicarum libri septem*, PL, 192, col. 1217D ('Idem est enim quod dicuntur regulares canonici ac si dicuntur canonici canonici'). Cited and translated in J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 61.

¹⁸ *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. by Webber and Watson, p. xxiv; Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 175–86.

¹⁹ The following account is based on that of Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 108–31.

²⁰ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 11.

²¹ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 120.

²² Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 128.

This is a remarkable degree of support. As J. C. Dickinson notes, 'In the early decades of the century the regular canons had enjoyed something approaching a monopoly of monastic patronage'.²³ And of course, in England the Austin canons were initially the only kind of regular canons there were.²⁴ What then was the Austins' secret? The success of the movement sprang not from the brilliance of a single visionary leader, a Francis, a Dominic, or a Bernard, nor from a firm hierarchy and the strict guidance of the mother house, as with Cluny, nor from the development of a demanding and extremely distinct elite culture, as with the Carthusians, nor even from the sterling good sense of the rule, as with Benedict's 'little rule for beginners'. (The Augustinian rule was fine as far as it went, but it was adopted after the canonical movement was already surging forwards, in part in response to the criticism of the monks, and its strength lay in its flexibility.) Rather, it would seem, the success of the Austin canons sprang from the very idea of a canon regular itself, sprang from that bizarre amphibious state that provoked such criticism.²⁵ It was the movement for its day: a movement of clerics who were almost monks. In some ways, the Austins were to the twelfth century what the Friars were to the thirteenth, a monastic order that was called to the world, a source of well-educated confessors, chaplains, and counsellors who could assist the secular clergy, and who were often found in an urban milieu.²⁶ It is noteworthy that in England the canons met with such strong episcopal support. No less than seven bishops established Austin houses while many canons went on to become bishops themselves.

²³ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 132.

²⁴ The Augustinian remained by far the largest group of canons regular. The Gilbertines, the order established by St Gilbert of Sempringham, did not begin to get going until the late 1130s and never had more than twenty-five houses at its peak (and its rule, was, in any case, essentially an offshoot of that of the Austins), while the Premonstratensians, or White Canons, a reformed version of the Augustinians, did not arrive in England until the 1140s and never had more than thirty-five houses, this in comparison to the nearly 250 Austin houses.

²⁵ Dickinson attributes the 'singularly potent bond between Henry I and the new order' to 'the great ascendancy quickly and firmly established by the two well situated houses of Aldgate and Merton', which were founded in 1107, or thereabouts, and 1114 (*Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 129), but this seems to beg the question. Otherwise, the only explanation Dickinson offers directly is to note Hamilton Thompson's observation that the royal vogue for supporting a single order is not without parallels and that the Austin canons were to Henry I and his inner circle what the Carthusians were to Richard II (*ibid.*, p. 129 n. 2).

²⁶ As David Postles notes in 'The Austin Canons in English Towns, c. 1100–1350', *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 1–20, by the time the Friars arrived in the early thirteenth century, the situation had changed: 'Support for the Austin canons may have rapidly evaporated. The Black [i.e. Austin] canons came to the towns initially as missionaries, but abandoned that role' (p. 17).

With this middling status came the crucial tendency to moderation. As Peter Comestor told them, ‘character enim ordinis tui est, mediocritas in victu, vestitu, habitu, incesso, tonsura, in psallendo’ and you avoid ‘nimia austeritas quandoque parit [...] occultam superbiam’.²⁷ In theory, being a canon regular involved the same general vows as being a monk, including chastity, poverty, and obedience, and living inside a cloister, yet in practice this life was significantly less austere. The Austin canons deliberately rejected the more austere practice of the Cistercians, which they considered ostentatious.²⁸ The offices were comparatively short and simple and more time was allotted to study.²⁹ Nigel Wireker praises the Austin canons in his *Speculum stultorum* for their moderation not just in matters of food, drink, and clothing, but in their daily routine: ‘Nec pareat psalmus vel lectio tædia longa | In psallendo tenent inque legendo modum.’³⁰ All this encouraged intellectual pursuits. In the case of Osney, which had numerous connections with Oxford intellectual life, it seems the abbey took on some of the qualities of a college, although without the distraction of students. While no library catalogue survives, there are no less than thirty manuscripts which bear the Osney *ex libris*.³¹ Given the low survival rate of medieval books, that number argues for a very large library. We also know that the Osney canons played an important role as landlords of student digs, renting whole blocks of rooms that would eventually become student halls, and the abbey ‘apparently permitted scholars and students who were not of the house or order to use the facilities of the convent, principally the refectory and the cloisters’.³² It has

²⁷ Peter Comestor, *Sermo 31*, PL, 198, col. 1796A, cited in Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 179. My translation: ‘the character of your order is moderation in your mode of life, your dress, your comings and going, your tonsure, and your singing [in choir]’ and you avoid ‘too great austerity [...] which can be a form of concealed pride’.

²⁸ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 175–87.

²⁹ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 185–86.

³⁰ Nigel Wireker, ‘Speculum stultorum de nigris canonici’, in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London, 1872), I, 89–90. My translation: ‘Neither chanting nor the *lectio* are tediously long. In both singing and reading they maintain moderation.’

³¹ *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. by Webber and Watson, p. 403, drawing on Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London, 1964), pp. 140–41, and *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London, 1987), p. 52.

³² David Postles, ‘The Learning of the Austin Canons: The Case of Osney Abbey’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 29 (1985), 32–43 (p. 37).

been suggested that their service to the academic community went further, and that they acted as confessors for students.³³

Dickinson has noted that the Austins 'included within their ranks more than their share of the learned' and one might even go a step further and suggest that there was often a rather donnish quality to the order.³⁴ A fair number of the canons were not merely educated; they were scholars, and even snobs. On one occasion Master Gwymund, Henry I's chaplain, 'is said to have simulated illiteracy at Mass before the court, and on being rebuked retorted that this seemed to be the best means of securing high ecclesiastical preferment'.³⁵ The effrontery is staggering (a priest burlesquing his own role as he performed the Mass and this in front of the pious Henry beau Clerc) but so is the intellectual arrogance; Henry's senior ecclesiastics were not as a rule poorly educated. But Gwymund, future prior of St Frideswide's, was a distinguished scholar. Perhaps he had heard someone using a 'quod' clause instead of the more elegant accusative and infinitive. The commentary on the rule written by a monk of Bridlington gives us another glimpse into the attitudes of the canons when it warns that the reading in the refectory should take place in silence so that there be no disturbance or contention, that is, 'that nobody presumes to argue about the grammar, or the accent, or the punctuation'.³⁶ If this was a concern in isolated Bridlington, it would have been much more so at Osney, were the refectory table thronged with poor scholarship students who were granted use of the facilities, canons who were also *magistri*, and even retired theologians, bishops, or members of their *familia*.³⁷ It was a learned table.

The Austins at Osney made a number of contributions to the literature of England, four of which I will touch on briefly. I begin in the 1130s when one of the first indications that the clerics of Oxford are beginning to coalesce into what would become a university was a series of lectures on the Bible by Master Robert Pullen, an event considered important enough to be recorded in the abbey's chronicle, sometimes known as the *Osney Annals*.³⁸ Pullen was a pupil of Anselm of

³³ This possibility was once suggested by Leonard Boyle in a class.

³⁴ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 176.

³⁵ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 114, citing an unedited cartulary.

³⁶ Robert of Bridlington, *The Bridlington Dialogue: An Exposition of the Rule of St. Augustine for the Life of the Clergy*, trans. by a religious of C.S.M.V. (London, 1960), p. 116.

³⁷ Postles, 'Learning of the Austin Canons', p. 34.

³⁸ *Annales monastici*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 5 vols (London, 1864–69), IV, 19, and discussion in Herbert E. Salter, 'The Medieval University at Oxford', *History*, 14 (1929), 57–61.

Laon. He appears to have been an Austin himself; at any rate, while in Oxford he stayed at Osney. His *Sentences* have been eclipsed by those of Peter Lombard, but they were praised in their day, by Bernard of Clairvaux among others.³⁹ Pullen has been described by his one biographer as 'a man of serious, even stern temperament, ascetical, conservative in outlook, a scholar who valued learning only as an instrument for penetrating and disseminating the word of God'.⁴⁰ Pullen was at Osney from 1133 to 1138. That means, of course, that during these years he had as his colleague in the sister institution of St George's less than a mile away none other than Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Geoffrey of Monmouth was a secular canon at St Georges during the 1130s, when working on his *Historia*, and he stayed there through its merger with Osney priory in 1149 until he was named bishop two years later. During this time, Geoffrey had the title of *magister*. As Dominica Legge notes, this was still a rare distinction — only three others in Oxford are known to have had it at this time — and probably implied that he taught theology.⁴¹ Geoffrey was an ambitious man, and writing was his means of self-promotion. The dedication to his famous *Historia*, which exists in several forms, appeals to no less than three potential patrons. The first is Robert, earl of Gloucester, bastard son of Henry I, who had visited Osney in 1136. Geoffrey asks him to emend his book with his wit and wisdom so that it is no longer merely the work of Geoffrey's lesser talent, for Robert, descended from King Henry, is one 'whom Philosophy has educated in the liberal arts' ('quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudiuit') and, for this, as well as his military ability, is hailed by the English as a second Henry.⁴² The second is to Waleran, count of Meulan (1104–66), son of Robert de Beaumont, count of Meulan, brother of Robert, earl of Leicester and, according to Geoffrey, the 'second pillar of the kingdom'. To Waleran Geoffrey writes:

³⁹ F. Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century* (Rome, 1954), p. 10.

⁴⁰ Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, p. 280.

⁴¹ M. Dominica Legge, 'Master Geoffrey Arthur', in *An Arthurian Tapestry: Essays in Memory of Lewis Thorpe*, ed. by Kenneth Varty (Glasgow, 1981), pp. 23–27 (p. 24). For a recent biography, see Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, pp. 1–10.

⁴² *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. 1: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568, ed. by Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1985), pp. xii–xiii, discusses and cites the three major versions. Lewis Thorpe provides an elegant translation in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 52.

Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens me tuum uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum tui editum sub tutela tua recipias, ut sub tegmine tam patulae arboris recubans calamum musae tue coram inuidis atque improbis tuto modulamine resonare queam.⁴³

Finally, having about got about half way through the *Historia*, and having recounted the early history of Merlin, Geoffrey felt he had reached an opportune moment to insert the prophecies of Merlin into his account of the deeds of the British kings. He does this, he says, at the urging of many people, but above all, at the urging of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, a man of great religion and wisdom: 'Non erat in clero siue in populo cui tot nobiles famularentur quos mansueta pietas ipsis et benigna largitas in obsequium sum alliciebat.'⁴⁴ Alexander could easily have commanded better writers to do the job, 'qui sullimioris carminis delectamento aures minerue tue mulcerent'.⁴⁵ Geoffrey even goes so far as to suggest that, although the prophecies were in a language unknown to him (that is, Welsh) Alexander alone could best perform the song if he were not otherwise occupied.

Here we see both the shameless toadying of an ambitious cleric but also the elaborate self-deprecation of an ambitious writer, someone who cares, and knows his patron cares, about good style. Unfortunately, none of this flattery bore fruit. Undeterred, Geoffrey turned to verse and sought another patron, this time a former canon of St George's (now absorbed by Osney), a former colleague in effect, Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln from 1148 to 1167, to whom Geoffrey dedicated his *Vita Merlini*, written in Latin verse. As Dominica Legge puts it, the *Vita Merlini* 'begins with a pyrotechnic display of erudition, which leads to the speculation that Geoffrey taught grammar'.⁴⁶ Here too he calls on Robert to correct his song:

Fatidici vatis rabiem musamque jocosam
Merlini cantare paro. Tu, corrige carmen,

⁴³ *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Wright, p. xiv, middle column (drawing on Acton Griscom's edition of Cambridge University Library, MS li.1.14). 'Faithful defender as you are of those dependent on you, accept under your patronage this book which is published for your pleasure. Accept me, too, as your writer, so that, reclining in the shade of a tree which spreads so wide, and sheltered from envious and malicious enemies, I may be able in peaceful harmony to make music on the reed-pipe of a muse who really belongs to you' (trans. by Thorpe, p. 52).

⁴⁴ *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Wright, p. 73. 'No one else among the clergy or the people was waited upon by so many noblemen as he was, for his never-failing piety and his open-handed generosity attracted them to his service' (trans. by Thorpe, p. 170).

⁴⁵ *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Wright, p. 73 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 170: 'who would have soothed your Minerva-like wisdom with the delight of a more sublime song').

⁴⁶ Legge, 'Master Geoffrey Arthur', p. 25.

Gloria pontificum, calamos moderando, Roberte.
 Scimus enim quia te perfudit nectare sacro
 Philosophia suo fecitque per omnia doctum,
 Ut documenta dares, dux et praeceptor in orbe.
 Ergo meis coeptis faveas vatemque tueri
 Auspicio meliore velis quam fecerit alter,
 Cui modo succedis, merito promotus honori.⁴⁷

None of these works got Geoffrey any immediate preferment, but his reputation as a writer obviously helped his case, for in 1151 Geoffrey was named Bishop-elect of St Asaph, in Flintshire, Wales, and, significantly, ordained priest at Westminster the following year.

Geoffrey's career suggests a great deal about the culture of Osney. It shows that the canons were men of considerable influence. In the space of three years two of them are consecrated as bishops, being promoted directly from their position as simple canons. It shows the canons prided themselves on their abilities as poets and enjoyed considerable leisure time. It is worth noting, since the pastoral mission of the Austins has often been stressed, that Geoffrey was only ordained after he had finally secured preferment and been named to the see of St Asaph. (The usual speculation is that Geoffrey was selected for the bishopric because it was felt that having a Welsh speaker would be politically useful.) That such a man could be made bishop would have shocked a serious pastoralist. It is hard, admittedly, to form any kind of intellectual tradition around two men of such different interests as Robert Pullen and Geoffrey of Monmouth, but they were both in their very different ways dedicated writers. That Osney found room for them both is a fine illustration of the flexibility for which the Austins were known.

Pullen was indeed a staid and cautious scholar, and his biblical commentary rarely evokes any texts other than the Bible, but he was aware of the *Timaues*. Discussing the question of the relation between the soul and the senses, he writes, 'Quod autem sensuum universitatem anima complectatur, Platonem non latuit; nempe id de visu solito sibi involucro insinuat scisitandi, dum interiorem refert

⁴⁷ *La légende arthurienne: Études et documents*, ed. by Edmond Faral, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), III, 307. My translation: 'I am preparing to sing of the madness of the prophetic soothsayer Merlin and his humorous spirit. You, Robert, glory among priests, correct my song with your regulating pen. We know that since Philosophy has infused you with her sacred nectar and made you more learned than anyone, that you should give an example, you who are leader and teacher to the world. Therefore befriend my beginnings and be willing to behold your poet with a kinder eye than that other man did, to whom you have just succeeded, deservedly promoted to your rank.' I would like to thank David Townsend for his assistance with the translation.

ignem per oculos effluere'.⁴⁸ So at Osney, in the twelfth century, they were reading the *Timaeus*. This brings us to the third and most vexed of the literary contributions of Osney discussed here. Osney Abbey preserved up to the Reformation as far as we know two texts of singular excellence, both dating from the twelfth century. The first is a copy of Chalcidius's translation of the *Timaeus*, complete with a series of glosses by at least three different masters, some of them of sharp and original insight. The second text is the earliest, and what is still generally regarded as the best, text of the *Chanson de Roland*. The two are now bound together as Bodleian, MS Digby 23.

The crucial question about such a manuscript is when were the two parts bound together? Here we have three bits of evidence. The first, known since Charles Samaran wrote his palaeographic commentary in 1932, is that in MS Digby 23, the *Roland* has a number of verses of Juvenal written on its flyleaves in a thirteenth-century hand. (So, apparently, unless you want to maintain that the book was being kept merely as scrap, a thirteenth-century English cleric was enjoying the *Roland*.)⁴⁹ The second piece of evidence is a copy of a Latin request in a fourteenth-century hand for materials for writing illuminated letters which is on the last flyleaf of the Chalcidius, the interior flyleaf of the combined volume. The implication, Ian Short argues, is that the two parts were still not yet bound together in the fourteenth-century.⁵⁰ After all, it would be odd for anyone to keep private notes in the middle of a volume. The final piece of evidence is half of a single word. The word is 'Chalcidius'. It is or was in the same possibly thirteenth-century hand that copied the Juvenal and on the same flyleaf. This word would seem strong evidence (if it really is there) that the two parts were bound together in the thirteenth century, possibly evidence strong enough to counterbalance the troublesome private notes. Examining the manuscript for the facsimile of 1932, Samaran thought he saw the word, although his transcription was rather tentative since he detected only the top

⁴⁸ *Sententiae*, PL, 186, 736a, discussed by Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, p. 176. My translation: 'That the soul contains within itself all the senses was not unknown to Plato, for on the subject of sight, in his usual enigmatic manner, he suggests to the inquirer that the fire within us first flows out from the eyes.'

⁴⁹ Charles Samaran, introduction to *La Chanson de Roland: Reproduction phototypique du manuscrit Digby 23 de la Bodleian Library d'Oxford* (Roxburghe Club, 1932; Paris, 1933), pp. 26–27 and 24.

⁵⁰ Ian Short, 'L'Avènement du texte vernaculaire: La mise en recueil', in *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Âge, Actes du Colloque, Palais du Luxembourg — Sénat, 5–6 Mars 1987*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Christiane Marchello-Nizia, special issue, *Littérales*, 4 (1988), 11–24 (p. 12), and Short, 'Part 1: The Oxford Version', p. 18.

halves of the letters. Examining the manuscript in preparation for his edition of 2005, Ian Short could not see it at all.⁵¹ The history of the reception of the Digby *Roland* could scarcely hang by a more slender thread: the top half of a single word that may not even be there.

For the fourth contribution to England's literary culture, however, I can offer a precise date. In 1212 one brother Angier (whose name might suggest he was originally from Anjou) found himself so distressed by the widespread taste for *chansons de geste* and other frivolities that he undertook to translate the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great into Anglo-Norman. The *Dialogues* survive in a single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f.fr. 24766, and bear an unusually precise statement of authorship: Angier writes, 'Explicit opus manuum mearum quod complevi ego frater A. subdiaconus, Sancte Frideswide servientium minimus, anno verbi incarnati M° CC° XII° mense XI° ebdomado IIIa feria VI in vigilia sancti Andree apostoli, anno conversionis mee VII°'.⁵² He complains bitterly of the modern frivolity:

Plus est hui ices jor vi
 Cil qui enseigne vanité,
 Mençonge e fable e faiseté,
 Qe cil qui enseigne le voir,
 Moralité, sen e savoir.
 Car vanité est escoutée
 E verité est reboutée.
 Les fables d'Artur de Bretaine
 E les chançons de Charlemaigne,
 Plus sont cherries e meins viles
 Que ne soient les Evangiles.
 Plus est escouté li jugliere
 Qe ne soient saint Pol ou saint Pierre,
 E plus est hui cest jor li fol,
 Ôiz qe saint Pierre ou saint Paul.⁵³

⁵¹ Short, 'Part 1: The Oxford Version', p. 18.

⁵² Timothy Cloran, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great Translated into Anglo-Norman French by Angier* (Strasbourg, 1901), p. 2. My translation: 'Here ends the work of my hand which I brother A. subdeacon of, and the least of those serving, St. Frideswide completed in the year of the incarnation of the word 1212, on the eleventh month, in the fourth week, on the sixth day, on the feast of St Andrew the Apostle, on the seventh year of my conversion.' I have added diacritics.

⁵³ Cloran, *Dialogues of Gregory*, p. 12. My translation: 'Today the man who teaches vanity, lies, fables, and falseness is more praised than he who teaches the truth, morality, sense, and knowledge. Vanity is listened to; truth is discarded. The fables of Arthur of Britain and the songs of

Therefore, as an act of charity, he has undertaken his translation:

Translater voeil un seint escrit
 Del Latin en lange romaine
 Qui plus est entendable e saine
 A cel qui de sainte escripture
 N'entendent pas la lettre obscure.⁵⁴

Angier's complaint about the popularity of works he considered frivolous was not entirely out of order. At about the same time, or possibly a few years later, another scribe (or possibly two scribes), who according to Jeanne Wathelet-Willem came from the same scriptorium as brother Angier, were copying down a series of manuscripts devoted to exactly the material of which he so disapproved.⁵⁵ One manuscript was a copy of a French translation of the *Pseudo Turpin* (London, British Library, MS Additional 40142), another was a copy of *Gui de Warewic*, which eventually came into the possession of Sir Henry Hope Edwardes hence the term the Edwardes MS (London, British Library, MSS Additional 38662, 38663, and 38664), and a third was a copy of that most puzzling of all *chansons de geste*, the *Chanson de Guillaume*. Here we may even be able to go one step further. Philip Bennett notes that 'the text [of the *Chanson de Guillaume*] shows every sign of having been reworked by an Anglo-Norman redactor and not merely "degraded"

Charlemagne are more valued than the Gospels. Jonglerie is more listened to than St Paul or St Peter, and a fool gains more attention than St Peter or St Paul.'

⁵⁴ Cloran, *Dialogues of Gregory*, p. 12. My translation: 'I wish to translate a holy work from Latin into the romance language, which is more easily understood and wholesome for those who cannot understand the obscure letter of holy scripture.'

⁵⁵ Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches sur la Chanson de Guillaume: Études accompagnées d'une édition*, 2 vols (Paris, 1975), I, 41, drawing on the advice of Jacques Stiennon and offering a comparison of the *Dialogues* in BnF, MS f.fr. 24766 with the *Chanson de Guillaume* in London, British Library, MS Additional 38663. It seems likely that this copy of the *Dialogues* is an autograph, as Paul Meyer suggested (without claiming as a certainty) in 'La Vie de Saint Grégoire, traduite du Latin par frère Angier, religieux de Sainte-Frideswide', *Romania*, 12 (1883), 145–208 (p. 150). The scope of this possible scriptorium, or cluster of scribes, is extended further by Duncan McMillan, who argues, in *La Chanson de Guillaume*, 2 vols (Paris, 1949–50), I, p. xvii, that the *Chanson de Guillaume* in BL, MS Additional 38663 is 'par le même scribe, ou tout au moins dans le même scriptorium, que ceux de *Gui de Warewic* [in MS Additional 38662] et du *Pseudo-Turpin* [in MS Additional 40142]'. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, in what is the most detailed palaeographical account so far, expresses caution but notes that 'the painted capitals are the same across the four texts' and the hands 'very similar' ('Time to Read: Pastoral Care, Vernacular Access and the Case of Angier of St Frideswide', in *Texts and Traditions of Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millet*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes Parker (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 62–77 (n. 23)). I am grateful to Dr Wogan-Browne for sharing a pre-publication copy of this essay.

by Anglo-Norman scribes'.⁵⁶ So in the early thirteenth century an Englishman could not only read a *chanson de geste* but remake one.

I offer these vignettes, brief fragments rather than a sketch of any coherent literary history, as if on behalf of a method. The search for evidence of the English reception of the *chansons de geste* might be seen as part of a broader methodological revision that seeks to problematize the master narratives of romantic nationalism. Such an approach is, broadly speaking, inclined to value the scribe rather than just the author, the specific manuscript rather than the Ur text, and reception rather than composition. It is suspicious of disciplinary boundaries and of chronological ones. It is attentive to editorial work, but this attention is often suspicious, for it regards editing as a fundamental part of canon formation. It would argue, for example, that in many and important ways the *Chanson de Roland* is a nineteenth-century poem. Thus far, I evoke an approach that has been well established during the last two decades, one that values hybridity, multiplicity, and uncertainty, a method that is in large measure in keeping with what was dubbed the 'New Philology' in an influential special issue of *Speculum* that appeared in January 1990. Such work is well in hand, and its values obviously reflect contemporary social and political concerns, as is appropriate. We (and I think the 'we' here would embrace both European and North American medievalists) cannot continue to teach the *Chanson de Roland* as the battle cry of a unified Catholic France, 'La France fait homme'.

But how then are we to teach the poem, if at all? The pedagogical implications of the new philologies, with their ironic reflections on the master texts and the master narratives in which these texts are embedded, are alarming. Gautier knew with inspirational certainty what his Middle Ages stood for. In comparison, fragments and uncertainties, scholarly caveats and political debunkings provide awkward material for a new narrative. Yet this would seem to be the material we must use. Margaret Jewett Burland, for one, notes that much of what once formed the core of the *Roland's* reputation now places it 'outside the category of what might be intriguing or even palatable to many of today's readers'.⁵⁷ Instead, she

⁵⁶ Philip E. Bennett, *La Chanson de Guillaume (La Chançon de Willame)* (London, 2000), p. 27. His positive assessment of the scribe's contribution draws upon Rita Lejeune, 'Le Camouflage des détails essentiels dans la *Chanson de Guillaume*', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 3 (1960), 42–58, and Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Scribe as Editor', in *Mélanges de langue et de la littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 523–31.

⁵⁷ Margaret Jewett Burland, *Strange Words: Retelling and Reception in the Medieval Roland Textual Tradition* (Notre Dame, 2007), p. 4.

argues, the broader Roland tradition can be celebrated as a multifaceted and problematized exploration of 'how people at different historical moments strive to understand themselves in relation to one another'.⁵⁸ Similarly, Sharon Kinoshita argues that in the wake of postcolonial theory, a reading of the poem as simple and univocal will tend to reduce it to 'a catalogue of numbingly repetitive tropes demonizing the racial and religious other'.⁵⁹ While recognizing that it is 'easy to read portrayals of the "pagans" in the *Song of Roland* as paradigmatic of medieval Europe's ignorance of and hostility toward the Islamic other', she finds it both possible and preferable to read the *Roland* 'as the site of multiple, occasionally conflicting values' and as 'a window onto a surprisingly turbulent and counterintuitively multicultural Middle Ages'.⁶⁰

That medieval texts can be read as sites of cultural negotiation, however, does not in itself provide a strong reason for a modern student to turn to them, not when so many more recent and perhaps more approachable texts can be read this way as well. What sets medieval literature apart, although this is, of course, also that very thing that drives so many students from it, is its linguistic diversity. The cultural negotiations of medieval literature are not conducted within the parameters of well-established and standardized national languages but across a range of shifting and competing languages and dialects. Where once the *chanson de geste*, above all the *Roland*, stood as pre-eminent examples of national linguistic unity, and the linguistic diversity of the manuscripts was an embarrassment, now this very diversity might help to justify the place of the *chanson de geste* on a modern curriculum. That the *chansons de geste* commanded the attention not just of illiterate Continental French knights but of men and women of many kinds across the *romans* diaspora, including highly educated clerics, such as the Austins of Osney, is now one possible argument that the *chansons de geste* still deserve our attention today. Perhaps in the eclectic interests of these canons we can find material for a story strong enough to displace that told by Léon Gautier when he describes a minstrel singing the *séance épique*.

⁵⁸ Burland, *Strange Words*, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Sharon Kinoshita, 'Political Uses and Responses: Orientalism, Postcolonial Theory, and Cultural Studies', in *Approaches to Teaching the Song of Roland*, ed. by Kibler and Morgan, pp. 269–80 (p. 269).

⁶⁰ Kinoshita, 'Political Uses and Responses', pp. 269 and 270.

ANGLO-NORMAN MULTICULTURALISM
AND CONTINENTAL STANDARDS IN GUERNES
DE PONT-SAINTE-MAXENCE'S *VIE DE SAINT THOMAS*

Thomas O'Donnell

Among the earliest biographers of Thomas Becket, Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence (fl. 1170–74) is perhaps the most engaging in and of himself, partly for his evident enthusiasm for St Thomas and his cause and partly for a curious legacy in the footnotes of philological textbooks. An obscure clerk from the Île-de-France, Guernes travelled to Canterbury two years after the murder in the service of his 'very good lord' St Thomas, aiming to produce a poem in his honour which would be unrivalled for its artistry and accuracy. Pugnacious and self-confident, he would answer the saint's critics by taking a radical view of clerical power which expounded theses to which even the Archbishop would have demurred. The theft of an early draft caused him a good deal of embarrassment, but the final version won him the attention of the saint's sister Mary, abbess of Barking, and of Odo, prior of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, and later abbot of Battle. He was permitted to perform his work at the saint's tomb on more than one occasion, and he received a horse and saddle from the abbess, along with so many small presents from her sister nuns that he jokes they were making him fat.¹

Christopher Baswell, Ian Short, Thelma Fenster, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, and Dorothy Kim each offered perceptive critiques of this paper in earlier drafts, and they suggested many areas for improvement, as did the editor of this volume. I gratefully acknowledge their assistance here and accept any remaining errors as my own.

¹ The standard edition is *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. by E. Walberg (Lund, 1922), reissued in Paris by H. Champion in 1936 with abbreviated interpretive materials. This last edition

Most of all, Guernes is remembered for having made the connection, before anyone else we know of, between 'good French' and the Île-de-France: 'Mis languages est bons, car en France fui nez' (line 6165; My language is good, for I was born in the Île-de-France). This paper considers why he should have done so in Anglo-Norman England, and just what his good French had to do with his contribution to the new cult of St Thomas. It is my argument that Guernes's rejection of linguistic diversity in favour of an objectively 'good' language was a consequence of his desire to write an authoritative and textually fixed vernacular history. As such, Guernes was depending on a market for vernacular history peculiar at this time to the multilingual literary culture of Anglo-Norman England. According to Ian Short's persuasive argument, vernacular historiography developed as a way to make the island's past intelligible to its most recent conquerors and their descendants,² and Guernes is the first to attempt to dislodge the historical genre from its insular way of speaking.

As I will argue below, the textual fluidity of twelfth-century manuscript culture seemed to Guernes to pose a danger that he hoped to avoid through the use of a localizable, prestigious dialect comparable to the notional stability of learned Latin writing. His exclusivism thus reflects the desire to appropriate Latin models of textual stability for the new tradition of French vernacular writing, rather than any animus against the French dialect of England.³ In support of this I marshal evidence against the supposed degeneracy of Anglo-Norman French, and I push for

is available online through the Anglo-Norman Online Hub at <<http://www.anglo-norman.net/texts/becket-contents.html>>. A modern English translation is available as *Garnier's Becket*, trans. by Janet Shirley (London, 1975). The English translations that follow, however, are my own. Guernes's description of his ultimate success in England after so many difficulties is drawn from lines 6156–80 and the epilogue, lines 1–22. For Guernes's political theories, see, for example, lines 31–115, 1231–1355, and 2391–2555.

² Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 229–49 (pp. 243–45). See also 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II', his contribution to *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 335–61.

³ For writers that see Guernes as principally concerned with the status of Continental French compared to Anglo-Norman, see M. Domenica Legge, *Anglo-Norman and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p. 249; Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (London, 1986), p. 12 n. 5. Ian Short expresses himself more cautiously in 'On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *Romance Philology*, 33 (1980), 467–79 (p. 473 n. 23).

a more open-minded interpretation of dialectal attitudes during the period. Most of all, by considering English multilingualism from the perspective of one of its critics, I hope to retrieve some sense of the opportunities extended by twelfth-century England's singular literary culture.⁴

Guernes's boast of his 'good French' comes as part of the conclusion to *La Vie de Saint Thomas*, which serves a double purpose of bibliographic notice and advertising copy. As a literate poet unattached to a strong patronage network, Guernes had good reason to 'sign' and describe his work:

Ainc mais si bons romanz ne fu faiz ne trovez.
A Cantorbire fu e faiz e amendez;
N'i ad mis un sul mot qui ne seit veritez.
Li vers est d'une rime en cinc clauses cuplez.
Mis languages est bons, car en France fui nez. (lines 6161–65)⁵

Evidently, Guernes meant by his remark that he wrote in the language of Pont-Sainte-Maxence in the Île-de-France, close to Picardy. Walberg characterized the language of the poem as 'la langue de l'Île de France, avec, par ci, par là, une légère teinte d'anglo-normandisme, souvenir du séjour prolongé que l'auteur fit en Angleterre. Les rares "picardismes" [...] ne sont que très naturels, vu que la ville natale du poète est située à bien peu de distance des confins de Picardie'.⁶ The final line here has normally been taken to refer, not just to the normativity of central French in the late twelfth century, but also to the deterioration of the French spoken in Anglo-Norman England at the time.

There is some textual support for this position, especially as regards the incipient prestige of Parisian French. In the 1180s, the future crusader Conon de Béthune complained bitterly that he was expected to perform his poetry in a Parisian accent. According to Conon, the queen was extremely discourteous — and her son the king, too — when, in full view of his lady, she reproached him for his accent, which was perfectly comprehensible. Was it his fault that he hadn't been

⁴ Here I aim to build on the arguments for this position put forward in M. Domenica Legge, 'La Précocité de la littérature anglo-normande', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 8 (1965), 327–49, and in Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots', pp. 229, 245.

⁵ 'Never before was such a good French poem made or invented. Made and corrected at Canterbury, there is not a single word that is not the truth. The stanza consists of five lines joined by one rhyme. My language is good, for I was born in the Île-de-France.'

⁶ *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. by Walberg, p. clxv.

raised in Pontoise?⁷ The degradation of Anglo-Norman, meanwhile, has been inferred from the remarks of a number of twelfth-century authors. Most prominently, the Nun of Barking makes decorous apologies a few years before Guernes for her 'false French of England', while in *De nugis Curialium* Walter Map cracks wise at the expense of Henry II's bastard Geoffrey because he speaks 'Marlborough French'. (Marlborough French, Map elaborates at the expense of his comic timing, is the name for any kind of vicious, corrupt French.) Similarly Gerald of Wales contrasts the rough French of England to the polished language of the Continent in an angry letter to an ungrateful nephew who, besides neglecting his rhetoric and grammar, had the further bad taste to lisp.⁸ Read in these contexts, the 'good language' of *La Vie de Saint Thomas* could be an indicator of Anglo-Norman's decline and the rise of the central French of Paris as a preferred dialect.

The weaknesses of the traditional reading become apparent upon further scrutiny, however. In the first place, the 'bad' Anglo-Norman it reads into Guernes's words is somewhat more elusive in twelfth-century texts than it is usually assumed. To be sure, there existed scribal practices that scholars have identified as Anglo-

⁷ 'Mout me semont Amors que je m'envoise', in *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. by Axel Wallensköld (Paris, 1968), 5–14 (p. 5):

Ke mon langaige ont blasmé li François
Et mes cançons, oiant les Champenois
Et la Contesse encoir, dont plus me poise.

La Roïne n'a pas fait ke cortoise,
Ki me reprist, ele et ses fieus, li Rois.
Encoir ne soit ma parole franchoise,
Si la puet on bien entendre en franchois;
Ne chil ne sont bien apris ne cortois,
S'il m'ont repris se j'ai dit mos d'Artois,
Car je ne fui pas norris a Pontoise. (lines 5–14)

⁸ These passages are current in the scholarship, but see especially Short, 'On Bilingualism', pp. 468–74; Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman* (London, 2007), pp. 13–17; William Rothwell, 'The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 58 (1975/76), 445–66 (pp. 445–48); Walter Map, *De nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, rev. edn by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 494–97; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum duorum*, ed. by Yves Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens, trans. by Brian Dawson (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 56–57; *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, ed. by Östen Södergård (Uppsala, 1948), p. 109 (lines 1–10). On Gerald in particular, see Yves Lefèvre, 'De l'usage du français en Grande-Bretagne à la fin du XII^e siècle', in *Études de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge offertes à Félix Lecoy par ses collègues, ses élèves, et ses amis*, ed. by Marcel Bataillon (Paris, 1973), pp. 301–05; for further discussion of the Nun of Barking's 'false French', see below.

Norman, but to say that a group of ecclesiastics around the turn of the thirteenth century regarded the French of England as unrefined is very different than to say that the language actually *was* degenerate or subgrammatical.⁹ If twelfth-century clerical authors found fault with *some* Englishmen's French, it is not always clear what forms they objected to, nor that all speakers (and scribes) were at fault. Even the language of the Nun of Barking's poem, which she presents as a model of sub-standard Anglo-Norman, seemed 'remarquablement pure' to its editor Östen Södergård: 'on pourrait même croire avoir affaire à un texte continental'.¹⁰

If the dialect of French in England is ill defined in this period, Guernes's good French is just as hard to discern in contemporary documents. Commentators have taken Guernes's definition as representative, but would any other medieval analyst have identified this dialect as normative? After Conon's protest, references to the linguistic superiority of the Île-de-France do proliferate. In the thirteenth century, forms native to the capital begin to radiate outwards, actually appearing in provincial documents, and this development has been associated with the centralizing programmes of the same Philip Augustus and his successors.¹¹ Nevertheless, the hypothetically standard 'Francien' described by earlier generations of philologists is simply not in evidence until the fourteenth century, when it is eked out in the chancery of the document-minded Charles V.¹² The dialect of *La Vie de Saint*

⁹ For a similar view, see R. M. Wilson, 'English and French in England 1100–1300', *History*, 28 (1943), 37–60 (p. 57). The degree to which Anglo-Norman was uniform and differed from French dialects from the Continent is also open to question. According to William Rothwell, the myriad spellings under which any given word appears in the Anglo-Norman corpus makes it difficult to assign clear boundaries between dialects. In 'Arrivals and Departures: The Adoption of French Terminology into Middle English', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), 144–65 (pp. 150–55), he cites evidence to indicate that 'Anglo-Norman' and 'Central French' forms circulated side-by-side both in Britain and on the Continent. Ian Short, however, comes out strongly for the position that Anglo-Norman was in fact distinctive, and he provides an interesting discussion of the evidence and its problems (Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, pp. 17–24).

¹⁰ *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, ed. by Södergård, p. 102.

¹¹ Max Pfister, 'Die sprachliche Bedeutung von Paris und der Île-de-France vor dem 13. Jahrhundert', *Vox Romanica*, 32 (1973), 217–53 (p. 250); R. A. Lodge, *French: From Dialect to Standard* (London, 1993), pp. 118–25.

¹² Andres Max Kristol, 'Le Début du rayonnement parisien et l'unité du français au moyen âge: le témoignage des manuels d'enseignement du français écrits en Angleterre entre le XIII^e et le début du XV^e siècle', *Revue de linguistique romane*, 53 (1989), 335–67 (pp. 335–36); Serge Lusignan, *La Langue des rois au Moyen Âge: le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 2004), pp. 120–26; R. A. Lodge, *A Sociolinguistic History of Paris* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 74.

Thomas was coming into ascendancy on the Continent, but it would be many centuries before anyone would think of making it a standard, and many more before it was accepted as such.

In England, the 'good French' emerging from Continental pages was easily confused with less prestigious dialects. Andres Max Kristol has analysed French language manuals made in England during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and has concluded that even though English readers were self-consciously trying to acquire correct French, there was very little agreement over just what correctness should sound (or look) like. The forms of French endorsed by the manuals were inconsistent from one to the other and usually included forms associated with Picardy as well as Paris. Apart from a cluster of texts in the last quarter of the fourteenth century which seem really to have taken Parisian French as a model, they consistently reproduce forms much more frequently found in insular manuscripts. The manual closest in time to Guernes, the thirteenth-century *Tretiz* of Walter Bibbesworth, never appeals to the French of Paris, but rather drills, in octosyllables, advanced French vocabulary of an Anglo-Norman type. Tendencies now associated with Anglo-Norman continued to be accepted as good and proper, 'dreit fraunceis'.¹³

Guernes's boast cannot then be read as an early witness to a *real* and *generally understood* prestige acquired by the French of Paris to the detriment of Anglo-Norman. Some twelfth-century Francophones assuredly did regard Parisian French as normative, but many did not. After all, the whole point of Conon's complaint is not that central French *was* the form most appropriate for literary expression in his day, but rather that it *should not be* and that it was impertinent of the court to think so. It would seem that for Conon no one French dialect should be the norm, so long as speakers are mutually intelligible, and that Paris should take care not to put on airs with respect to the literary culture of the north-east. Our picture of twelfth-century French is made much clearer once it is admitted that any standard is a construct which indicates socially conditioned attitudes towards linguistic change more than it is a grammatically stable variety towards which all other dialects refer. The idea that Anglo-Norman differed from central French because it 'deteriorated' from its parental stock furthermore reveals a prescriptivism that few linguists would credit today.

¹³ Kristol, 'Le Début du rayonnement parisien', pp. 335–67. Appealing to traditional taxonomies of French, Kristol wrote that Walter 'ne semble pas voir la moindre nécessité de se mettre au diapason avec le français continental; pour lui, son français, tout anglo-normand qu'il soit, c'est du français tout court' (p. 342).

The meaning of Guernes's good French is therefore literary and social, rather than strictly demographic or objectively descriptive, and the remainder of this paper will reconstruct the literary meaning of Guernes's remarks during the twelfth century. The contrast between different varieties of French was to become a topos in later medieval literature in French and English. The Nun of Barking's prologue is the first instance to come to light, but the Prioress's 'scole of Stratford atte Bow' is a later, more familiar example.¹⁴ But even if Guernes's conclusion was an attempt to attract interest to this work by relating it to the incipient fashion for meta-linguistic commentary in the vernacular, it still expresses the value that he or his intended audience would have attached to his dialect.¹⁵ The question is not, did Guernes compose in the good French of the Île-de-France, but rather, what reasons had Guernes to boast of his fine Continental French? To answer this question, the *factual* content of Guernes's assertion is less important than his ideological commitments.

As a partisan of St Thomas, Guernes's ideology was staunchly clerical, and his other moments of linguistic reflection in *La Vie de Saint Thomas* focus on clerical language and Latin. Thus in his epilogue Guernes is much more concerned with the way that his poem will look when compared to its Latin competitors than with Anglo-Norman deviance.

L'an secund que li sainz fu en s'glise ocis,
 Comenchai cest roman, e mult m'en entremis.
 Des privez saint Thomas la verité apris:
 Mainte feiz en ostai ço que jo ainz escriis,
 Pur oster la mençoige. Al quart an fin i mis.

 E ço sacent tuit cil qui ceste vie orrunt
 Que pure verité par tut oïr purrunt.
 E ço sacent tuit cil qui del saint traitié unt,

¹⁴ The thirteenth century even saw a vogue for parodies of English speakers of French, many described in John E. Matze, 'Some Examples of French as Spoken by Englishmen in Old French Literature', *Modern Philology*, 3 (1905), 47–60. The conventionalism of the attitude is evident from the fact that the 'Englishmen' in question (in *Fabliau de deux Angloys et de l'anel*, *Renart teinturier*, and *Jehan et Blonde*) actually speak a mishmash of foreign tics modeled on German, Auvergnat, and English accents (p. 53).

¹⁵ For similar attitudes about the value of topos as vehicles of individual attitudes, see *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others (University Park, PA, 1998); and Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London, 1986).

U romanz u latin, e cest chemin ne vunt:
U el dient que jo, contre verité sunt. (lines 6166–75)¹⁶

Here Guernes elaborates his claims of superiority to include not just other 'French poems', but any French or Latin work at all that presumes to cover the same ground as the present author: 'where they contradict me, they oppose the truth'. Guernes's dismissal of his rivals is of a piece with remarks found in other vernacular writers, but his attack on Latin learning is unique, since most vernacular narrators in this period set themselves up as learned mediators between Latin clerical knowledge and the layfolk.¹⁷ Guernes upsets the customary hierarchy of written language in twelfth-century England that placed Latin over French.¹⁸ This attitude is much more remarkable than a self-satisfied dig at Anglo-Norman, and the showy scholarship of the first stanza quoted here is an attempt to justify his *chutzpah*. Guernes deliberately does away with a certain kind of linguistic hierarchy, the one that favoured Latin over the vernacular in learned works of history not explicitly based on ancient exemplars in Latin, while he asserts a brand new one, that Parisian French is good, that it is better than the French spoken elsewhere. This two-handed gesture makes sense only if Guernes's work and opinions

¹⁶ 'I began this French poem in the second year after the saint had been killed in his church, and I have worked at it a good deal. From St Thomas's intimate friends I have learned the truth: many times I scratched out what I had written before to remove what was false. In the fourth year I brought it to an end.

'And let them know this, all those who will hear this life, that in every part of it they shall be able to hear the whole truth. And let them know this, all those who have composed something about the saint, in French or in Latin, and who do not take this same path, that, where they contradict me, they oppose the truth.'

¹⁷ The prime example of this would be Wace. See Karl D. Uitti, 'The Clerkly Narrator Figure in Old French Hagiography and Romance', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 2 (1975), 394–408; Peter Damian-Grint discusses Wace and others from the perspective of 'authorization' in *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 85–142. Damian-Grint also discusses the topos deployed by Guernes here, of charging one's rival poets with falsehood, with reference to other vernacular authors (pp. 100–03). The clerk's power almost exclusively derives from his or her Latin bilingualism. Old English could also appear as an 'authorizing' source-language in twelfth-century writing. Among vernacular texts which draw on the prestige of Old English, examples include *L'Estoire des Engleis* of Gaimar, the *Fables* of Marie de France, and Layamon's *Brut*, while the *Gesta regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon, and the *Libellus de exordio* of Symeon of Durham are Latin works which seek authorization from English antecedents.

¹⁸ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993), pp. 201–06.

are re-evaluated against the background of the multilingual literary scenes of England and the Continent, the latter being also multidialectal as far as French was concerned.

In the first place, Guernes takes a lofty view of vernacular history, and it was only in Anglo-Norman England where histories and other works of self-consciously intellectual labour were being written in French during the twelfth century. Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, the first extant French-language history, appears in England as part of the intense historicizing campaign that followed the Conquest. Ian Short has argued that language difference is the *raison d'être* for the *Estoire* and, further, that this innovation is owed to the patron Constance Fitzgilbert, rather than to the poet Gaimar. Lady Fitzgilbert represents, according to Short, an aristocrat 'anxious to be integrated within [her] new homeland', but in need of a linguist like Gaimar, learned in Latin and classical Old English, to make the country's past accessible to her. And in fact, Lady Fitzgilbert was deeply involved in Gaimar's writing process, as it was she who acquired the Latin exemplars of the *Historia regum Britanniae*. History written in French thus strikes its first roots in Lady Fitzgilbert's self-consciously multicultural and multilingual milieu and in Gaimar's impressive philological achievement. Note, however, that multilingualism here is 'systematic' rather than individual. Despite the evidence that French, English, and Latin interpenetrated with increasing frequency as time wore on, for Lady Fitzgilbert the diverse antiquity of Britain posed a problem, so that Gaimar had to be hired to do what she could not.¹⁹ This response to multilingualism entrenches difference rather than removes it.²⁰

Guernes's self-conscious methodology and documentation, lengthy digressions on political philosophy, and careful contextualization of his subjects' characters and motives are all reminiscent of twelfth-century English historians.²¹ He versified

¹⁹ For the interpenetration of French, Latin, and English in Anglo-Norman texts, see David Trotter in this volume. For the description of Lady Fitzgilbert, see Ian Short, 'Gaimar et les débuts de l'historiographie en langue française', in *Chroniques nationales et chroniques universelles*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger (Göppingen, 1990), pp. 155–63 (p. 162). I would argue that the attitude of Lady Fitzgilbert, like that of Guernes or the authors of French language manuals, is another example where medieval attitudes towards language do not reflect the actually fluid linguistic boundaries which we can now clearly perceive in medieval documents.

²⁰ See Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots'. See also Diana B. Tyson, 'Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romania*, 100 (1979), 180–222.

²¹ For the historical methodology of Anglo-Norman authors, see Short, 'Gaimar et les Débuts', p. 157, and R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 22 (1973), 243–63 (pp. 247–56). For an overview of some

letters and even the Constitutions of Clarendon, and he expanded his philosophical purchase to match that of sober Latin histories, pondering the nature of feudal duties and putting forward idiosyncratic theories of ordination. His research extended from a command of primary documents in his subject's correspondence to incidental details about wardrobe; it is even possible that he saw vernacular texts read by Thomas that have since been lost. Guernes consulted at least three Latin versions of Becket's life and any number of oral informants in order to correct the errors in his sources.²² Guernes is thus one important counter-example to Peter Damian-Grint's notion that vernacular and Latin historiography followed different procedures during this period; while Guernes does emphasize his clerical status in ways similar to his vernacular colleagues, he is also adopting the archival habits and intellectual breadth of Latin models.²³ 'While still harking back to the time when pious, rhetorical and legendary conflation of fact was the order of the day, [*La Vie de Saint Thomas*] can also be said to point the way forward and to prepare the ground for the emergence of the first mediaeval French prose historians in the early decades of the thirteenth century.'²⁴ In other words, the *Vie de Saint Thomas* was a detailed account of recent history as well as a hagiographic potboiler.

Unlike Gaimar, Guernes wagered that his French-language history could be taken as authoritative without reference to Latin or English originals; though he could be eclectic, Gaimar had established his work on Latin and ancient English.

important Anglo-Norman historians and an analysis of their respective merits, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithaca, 1974) pp. 136–85.

²² These were Edward Grim, William of Canterbury, and William Fitzstephen. Guernes does not refer to his sources by name, but Walberg has established how much of his material he owes to these Latin writers. For the texts used by Guernes, see Leena Löfstedt, 'La Vie de S. Thomas Becket par Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence et la traduction en ancien français du Décret de Gratien', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 98 (1997), 161–77, and *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. by Walberg, pp. xxvi–lv, lxx–cx. Guernes had access to sources unused elsewhere, and he remains an indispensable source for modern research on the Archbishop. See Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), pp. 5–6, 236; Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket: A Textual History of his Letters* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 203–04; Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004), p. 3.

²³ Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 37–42, 85–142. A difference in patronage between Guernes and other vernacular poets might explain the contrast, since Guernes's final draft was written under the eyes of the highly literate and accomplished communities at Christ Church and Barking, whereas most vernacular historians seem to have in mind an audience of aristocrats with little clerical knowledge. For more about Guernes's immediate literary circle, see my discussion below.

²⁴ Ian Short, 'An Early Draft of Guernes' *Vie de Saint Thomas Becket*', *Medium Ævum*, 46 (1977), 20–34 (p. 33).

And unlike Jordan Fantosme, who wrote his *Chroniques* a year or two after the *Vie de Saint Thomas* was finished, Guernes avoided the forms and emphases of *chansons de geste*. Guernes's stanzas and tendency towards parataxis certainly derive from the earlier genre, but apart from the climactic scene inside the cathedral, his narrative generally prefers a careful reconstruction of his protagonists' acts and motivations to the immediacy of combat or the drama of divided allegiance.²⁵ Though Anglo-Norman French had become a proper medium of historiography and other learned discourse, it was not associated with 'original' works meant as authoritative contributions of universal significance, as Guernes seems to have intended his poem to be.²⁶ Guernes's confidence in appropriating Latin historiographical methods only makes sense in an Anglo-Norman milieu where 'translations' of all sorts were the norm, but he goes farther than his models when he claims that these methods can stand outside of their original Latin support.²⁷

As Guernes's use of Latin models shows, he was not insensitive to the prestige of Latin writing, and he includes Latinity as one part of his personal clerical ideal. As the normal medium for intellectual work in the twelfth century Latin would have possessed a prestige that Guernes's work could only reflect, never eclipse. As a result the body of his work bears a complicated attitude towards this language. Principally for Guernes as for others, Latin was the shibboleth of a good clerk.²⁸

²⁵ For an alternative view, see Timothy Andrew Peters, 'Garnier de Pont-Ste-Maxence's *Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*: A Study in Medieval Genre and Literary Opportunism' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 1991), pp. 47–93, where the author argues that the poem is fashioned along the lines of a *chanson de geste*. Peters's argument draws most heavily on the passages describing the martyrdom, and he neglects the substantial passages devoted to letters, documentation, and political analysis.

²⁶ For Anglo-Norman as a learned language well suited for translations from Latin, see Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots', pp. 236–37, and Rothwell, 'The Role of French', pp. 454–56.

²⁷ A very different elaboration of the translation 'topos' was the fashion for using 'very old books' in foreign languages as the bases of fictions. Examples in the Latin tradition include Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh book and the English book (clearly modelled on Geoffrey's) belonging to William of St Albans. See *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the 'De gestis Britonum' ('Historia regum Britanniae')*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve and trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), Prol. 2, and Thomas O'Donnell and Margaret Lamont, 'The Passion of Saint Alban', in *The Life of Saint Alban by Matthew Paris*, trans. and ed. by Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Tempe, 2010), chap. 1. For a review of the tradition in French romance, see Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Du manuscrit trouvé au corps retrouvé', in *Le Topos du manuscrit trouvé: hommages à Christian Angelet*, ed. by Jan Herman and Fernand Hallyn (Leuven, 1999), pp. 1–14.

²⁸ Very generally, see Michael Richter, 'A Sociolinguistic Approach to the Latin Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 11 (1975), 69–82 (p. 70). Anglo-Norman writers routinely use Latinity

Guernes was a radical supporter of St Thomas's clerical agenda, and his ideal of the priestly order was *so* inflated that he associates clerks speaking correct Latin as men insuflated by the Holy Spirit. We might compare it to Pentecost, but inverted: whereas the Apostles spoke so that they could be understood by all, a clerk moved by the Spirit becomes largely unintelligible to most.

La Vie de Saint Thomas includes an episode where the royalist English bishops on embassy to the Pope are ridiculed for their incompetent Latin.²⁹ On a later occasion, St Thomas acquits himself with distinction, even though Cardinal William of Pavia repeatedly interrupts, hoping to embarrass him by making him lose his place, but to no avail:

Sainz Thomas fu mult sages; sainz Espiriz en lui fu.
E quanque cil diseit aveit bien entendu,
E mot a mot par tut li aveit respundu;
Par bel latin adès a chascun puint solu. (lines 2366–69)³⁰

Thomas's success may well have been a miracle, as he was a notoriously poor Latinist and the curia was a demanding audience.³¹ The structure of the incident is interesting, too, because it overlays Thomas's charismatic Latinity with the immediacy and power of an oral performance. In both cases, the oral appears as the quintessential register of the true statement. The inverse of this attitude, that writing is a format well suited to deceit, is also perhaps at the root of one of the major sticking-points in the Becket controversy, namely the King's insistence that Thomas accept the 'customs of the kingdom' in writing as well as in spoken form.³²

as a way to distinguish between clerics and layfolk. See the prologues collected in Rothwell, 'The Role of French', and the commentary there.

²⁹ Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Jacques T. E. Thomas, 2 vols (Leuven, 2002), lines 2256–60.

³⁰ 'St Thomas was very wise; the Holy Spirit was within him, and he understood well everything this man [William of Pavia] was saying, and he answered him completely, word for word. He resolved each difficulty in beautiful Latin every time.'

³¹ On Thomas's sketchy Latinity, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp. 21–22. For a similar moment of inspiration in Guernes, see *La Vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Thomas, lines 2799–2800: 'Herbergiez ert en lui pur veir sainz Esperiz, | Qui dedenz lui parlout e par qui il ert fiz.' For biblical precedents, see Matthew 10. 19–20 and Luke 12. 11–12.

³² Guernes, *La Vie de saint Thomas de Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Thomas, lines 1000–20; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp. 99–105. Gabrielle M. Spiegel discusses the charisma and 'evocative power' of oral performance in *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 65–66. For the belief that oral witness was more

Very similar is Guernes's claim to have performed his work 'many times' in the presence of an informed audience of monks and pilgrims at the martyr's shrine. More than a colorful anecdote, it furnishes Guernes with credentials of community approval reminiscent of oral forms of truth seeking.

Of the many dangers which writing suggested to medieval people, the possibility that falsehood would be indelibly preserved on the page ranked foremost in Guernes's mind. In fact, Guernes had personally suffered because of the openness of writing to manipulation by the ill-intentioned. In his prologue, he explains that the present text is a second, improved edition of an earlier draft that had been circulated against his will by cheating scribes before he could correct all his errors.

Mes cel premier romanz m'unt escrivein emblé,
 Anceis que je l'oüsse parfet e amendé
 E l'amer e le dulz adulci e tempré;
 E la u j'oi trop mis, ne l'oi uncore osté,
 Ne le plus ne le mains n'erés ne ajusté.

Par lius est mençungiers e senz pleneireté;
 E nepurquant i a le plus de verité.
 E meint riche umme l'unt cunquis e achaté;
 Mes cil en deivent estre, ki l'emblèrent, blasmé.
 Mes cestui ai del tut amendé e finé.

Tut cil autre romanz ke unt fait del martyr
 Clerc u lai, muine u dame, mult les oï mentir,
 Ne le veir ne le plain nes i oï furnir.
 Mes ci purrez le veir e tut le plain oïr;
 N'istrai de verité pur perdre u pur murir. (lines 151–65)³³

trustworthy than written documents, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 186, 193, 260–66. The skepticism of some authors about written evidence is also discussed by Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 68–70.

³³ 'But scribes stole this first French poem from me before I could perfect it and amend it, and [before I could] temper the sweet and sweeten the bitter. Neither had I scratched out where I had written too much nor added to where I had written too little.

'Now and again there is a falsehood or a lack of detail; but nevertheless most of the truth is there, and many rich men have obtained and bought it, though those who stole it ought to be blamed. But here I have corrected it all and refined it.

'As for all those other romances that were made about the martyr by clerks or laymen, by monks or a lady, I have heard that they are very false; I have not heard them supply either the truth or the full details [of the matter]. But here you can hear the truth and all the details in their entirety. I shall not depart from the truth for fear of loss or of death.' For an alternative translation of these lines, see Short, 'Early Draft', p. 20.

Just as the intensity of Thomas's oral performance before the Curia imparted a kind of truthfulness to his discourse, so the transcription of Guernes's poem creates a distance between the fruit of his research and his audience and is a temptation for dishonest scribes. While a text offered Guernes a potentially stable medium to record the truth about Thomas, writing also tended to give power to any lie that happened to find its way into the mix. I would suggest that Guernes's misadventure here reflects the uneasiness among twelfth-century authors about the possibilities of textual corruption in written texts.³⁴

Also noteworthy in this passage is Guernes's put-on courage, which complicates what might otherwise have been a straightforward exposition of his scholarly expertise. Given the interpretation that Guernes brings to bear on Thomas's death, a conflation of true speech and martyrdom is not incredible (nor is it unprecedented), but Guernes's studiousness and research, his assiduous correction of his errors based on new research strikes a new note, borrowed from the clerkly personae of other vernacular authors. Death is the penalty for bookishness, and here Guernes seems ironically like the persecuted textual communities described by Brian Stock, whose commitment to literacy provokes conservative reaction.³⁵

The awareness of false writing also contributes to Guernes's attitude about language, since in an age where being 'litteratus' meant the ability to read Latin, Latin and vernacular languages were felt to have different relationships to writing. One check against falsehood in this period was the use of Latin as an elite language of authority. Latin was the language of legal record in both France and England, though French had just begun to be a language of written law especially in England. English legal texts were being translated into French, and Leena Löfstedt has argued that Guernes not only consulted the *Leis Willelme* but that he also referred to an Old French version of the *Decretals* and possible Old French versions of Thomas's letters.³⁶ Latin had the further appeal for twelfth-century writers that they could imagine it, even to the nuts and bolts of its grammar, to the fiber of its morphology, as a controlled and artificial language. This is not to say that Latin *was*

³⁴ We can understand why corrections to this first draft were necessary, because fragments of it have survived in the form of binding papers. In 'An Early Draft', pp. 20–34, Ian Short has analysed the text of these and concluded that the second version was comprehensively worked over to correct what the Canterbury community must have seen as errors in the judgement of Thomas's Latin biographers (errors that we would call even-handedness).

³⁵ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 88–150.

³⁶ Löfstedt, 'La Vie de S. Thomas Becket', pp. 168–77.

a 'stable' language during the Middle Ages, but that a large portion of the population believed it to be so. Guernes for one makes such an assumption when he holds up the royalist bishops to ridicule for common medieval Latin usages, like conjugating impersonal verbs as personal ones. Latin was widely treated as the most reliable medium for preserving the past. Thus, William of Malmesbury evokes the authority of Old English books, but he presents his historical research as a kind of salvage operation, where he must 'sew up' the scraps of history that have survived and 'season them with Roman wit (*sale*)'.³⁷ Less ambivalent still is the Ramsey Chronicler, who quite frankly expresses his impatience with the variety and poor quality of Old English documents and breathes a sigh of relief when he turns his hand to Latin sources.³⁸ The vernacular, because of its continued associations with oral modes and its geographic and diachronic variations, made a poor medium for historical truth.³⁹

A formidable obstacle thus lay in the way of any vernacular writer seeking his own authority, and after the painful experience with his first version Guernes did well to be savvy about the peculiar protocols of literate authorship. He therefore authenticated his refined and perfected text by frequent assertions that he had done his research and that he had earned the approbation of the monks of Christ Church and the nuns of Barking, including St Thomas's sister. Guernes's most arresting device, however, is his use of good French. In search of a version of French that possessed some international prestige as well as some apparent stability in order to fix his text, Guernes turned to what would have been an 'artificial' grammar for most of the Francophone world, his own dialect from the Île-de-France. Certainly Guernes's innovation owes something to the programme of political and cultural centralization on the Continent alluded to by Conon de Béthune, but his reaction to it is of quite a different kind. Whereas the Artesian had found fault with *francois* pretension because the court had embarrassed him in front of his mistress, Guernes inserted his remark as a condition of his veracity: 'N'i ad mis un sul mot qui ne seit veritez [...]. Mis languages est bons, car en France fui nez' (lines

³⁷ *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–99), Prol. 2–4. For Malmesbury's attitude towards the standards of Latin in his own day, see Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 28–31.

³⁸ *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray (London, 1886), pp. 4, 176–77.

³⁹ See Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 55–69. Later, Dante saw the regional limitations of Italian dialects as a hurdle in the way of the establishment of a prestigious vernacular language in Italy. See *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and trans. by Steven Botterill (Cambridge, 1996).

6163–65).⁴⁰ Guernes's good, grammatical French is a sign of the poem's integrity. In line with his careful use of authenticating elements throughout his work, Guernes's boast identified the properly 'fixed' form of vernacular expression, one that ought not to be meddled with by lazy or evil-intentioned scribes. Both passages, from the conclusion and the prologue, make it plain that the spread of misinformation worried Guernes more than being cut out by the hagiographical black-market.

The interests of Guernes's ecclesiastical dedicatees would also push him to take extra precautions about his poem's textual purity. For Prior Odo, the monastic head of Holy Trinity Priory at Christ Church, the appeal of an 'authorized' vernacular version of St Thomas's struggle with the King should be obvious, although in life the Archbishop had looked on Odo as an enemy.⁴¹ Be that as it may, during the long archiepiscopal vacancy which followed the martyrdom, Odo proved his worth to the monastic community by winning for the monks concessions from the King which included land and (theoretically) free elections of their superiors. Having resigned his post at Canterbury to become Abbot of Battle in 1175, he continued to be mentioned as the chapter's choice for archbishop until his death in 1200. Mary, as one of those who would have suffered with Thomas the King's wrath during the years of exile, could have had even deeper reasons for attachment to her brother's memory than Odo, though there are reasons why we should not think of her involvement in the cult as totally independent of politics at Christ Church. It would be reasonable to assume that her appointment to the office of abbess was a spontaneous act of the King's in reparation for her brother's murder,⁴² but Gervase of Canterbury credits it rather to the diplomatic skills of Odo himself.⁴³ The combination of familial and institutional interests which Guernes's

⁴⁰ 'There is not a single word that is not the truth [...]. My language is good, for I was born in the Île-de-France.'

⁴¹ See Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp. 221, 320 n. 38. For a helpful review of Odo's personality and career, see R. M. Thomson, 'Canterbury, Odo of (d. 1200)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20544>>.

⁴² Such was the conclusion of R. C. Fowler, 'Religious Houses', in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Essex*, ed. by William Page and J. Horace Round (London, 1907), II, 84–201 (p. 116). Fowler is following Matthew Paris, who conflates Mary's accession and Thomas's canonization in the *Chronica majora* (*Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872–83) II, 287–88).

⁴³ After the failed attempt to install the Canterbury monks' choice for archbishop, the King 'consoled' Odo by promising the above-mentioned restitutions of land and privileges, plus 'at the

dedication evokes was evidently profitable to both houses, and we might see the support for Guernes as a deliberate collaboration between Odo and Mary, along with their respective communities, no matter how much Guernes might represent this as the gratuitous patronage of St Thomas himself.

The literary milieux of Canterbury and Barking during Guernes's stay in England have, moreover, immediate bearing on Guernes's linguistic attitudes. Both were sites of literary production during this period, and exploitations in their writing of the different expectations proper to Latin and to French would have stimulated Guernes's reflection on his own poem's place in the multilingual writing scene of twelfth-century England. Odo, for one, was a well-respected exegete, who composed sermons in Latin, French, and English, though (according to the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*) 'sometimes he spoke rather wordily'.⁴⁴ As for Barking, the community there was a consumer of both Latin and French hagiography and history, having employed Goscelin of Saint-Bertin to rewrite their house legends in the eleventh century and supporting their own 'school' of hagiographers in the twelfth. Guernes's recognition of female hagiographers among his rivals (line 162), is arguably a reference to his patronesses' literary vocations.⁴⁵ Both *La Vie de Sainte Catherine* of Clemence of Barking and *La Vie de Saint Edouard le Confesseur* of the anonymous Nun of Barking display an interest in language politics and the various meanings of translation during this period.

Of the two, the Nun is probably the closest in time to Guernes, and in her prologue, which situates her French writing in the context of Latinity, she treats the meaning of dialect in ways which differ instructively from Guernes:

Si joe l'ordre des cases ne gart
Ne ne juigne part a sa part,
Certes n'en dei estre reprise,
Ke nel puis faire en nule guise.

instigation of Prior Odo, he gave the abbacy of Barking to Mary, the sister of the martyr Saint Thomas of Canterbury'. See Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works, the Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, by Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury, ed. by W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1879–80), I, 242.

⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. by Eleanor Searle (Oxford, 1980), pp. 306–09.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of twelfth-century female hagiographers, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Clerc u lai, muïne u dame": Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 61–85. Barking is also the focus of analysis in *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women*, trans. and ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Glyn S. Burgess (London, 1996), pp. xxiv–xxvii.

Qu'en latin est nominatif,
 Ço frai romanz acusatif.
 Un faus franceis sai d'Angletere,
 Ke ne l'alai ailurs quere.
 Mais vus ki ailurs apris l'avez,
 La u mester iert, l'amendez. (lines 1–10)⁴⁶

As with Guernes, the Nun's attitudes towards vernacular dialects are shaped by her Latin scholarship. The language and perspective of these lines have been lifted from a prescriptive Latin grammar, so that the move from the original Latin *Vita* of Edward the Confessor by Aelred of Rievaulx to the Nun's French *Vie* creates 'disorder' as a matter of course. Her rearrangement of Aelred's syntax ('what is nominative in Latin, I will make accusative in French') is quite literal, but insofar as 'nominative' (the case that *governs* the verb) and 'accusative' (the case governed *by* the verb) express a hierarchical relationship, the transition from one grammatical form to the other also signifies the relationship between Latin and the vernacular.⁴⁷ The Nun's modesty also embraces her female authorship; rhetorically at least, she places her words under the government of learned men. In fact, the Nun's distinction between the French of England and of 'elsewhere' might also include a reference to her sex, since a Benedictine sister would have found it much more difficult to travel abroad than any male clerk, many of whom would have studied at French schools.⁴⁸

At the same time, the Nun of Barking infuses all these hierarchies — Latin–vernacular, male–female, French–English — with a sweet-smelling irony, simply because she *is* an Anglo-Norman woman writer adapting the authoritative Latin tradition to great success. According to M. D. Legge, the Nun's appeal for

⁴⁶ *Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, ed. by Östen Södergård. 'If I do not keep the order of my cases, nor join each part to its part, certainly I ought not to be reproached, because I would not be able to do it in any case. What is nominative in Latin I will make accusative in French. Mine is a false French of England which I did not go looking for elsewhere. But you who have been taught elsewhere, make corrections where you see the need.'

⁴⁷ M. D. Legge (*Anglo-Norman*, p. 60) sees this contrast as a response to the increasing irrelevance of case distinctions in Old French in general, while William MacBain ('Anglo-Norman Women Hagiographers', in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. by Ian Short (London, 1993), pp. 235–50 (p. 239)) maintains the older view that the Nun is contrasting Anglo-Norman syntax with Continental syntax. This latter position seems difficult to hold given the Nun's explicit reference to Latin as the case-marking language in question.

⁴⁸ For the Nun's attitude towards gender, see lines 5312–20. She represents Queen Edith in the terms of the monastic ideal of stability, lines 1256–80.

correction ‘where there is need’ continues the tradition of introductory topoi observed in Latin literature, and her bad French is the lineal descendant of the *incultus affatus* written by Gregory of Tours.⁴⁹ Her submissiveness is not just ‘affected,’ as we would say of her Latin authorities; it is cheek. Though the Nun inaugurates the long-standing tradition of Anglo-Norman apology, she is much more interested in the metaphors of translation and her uncertain position as a woman writer than in the appeal of a standard French. Whereas the clerk from Pont-Sainte-Maxence predicates the closed nature of his authoritative text on his specific, localizable dialect, the Nun of Barking makes her French the grounds for an invitation for collaboration from ‘you, who have been taught elsewhere’. It is a striking contrast, and one that emphasizes the richness of reference contained within seemingly straightforward assertions of Anglo-Norman deviance.

The Nun’s reflection on her choice of language is just one example of the linguistic sophistication of Guernes’s intended audience. Yet, as the first extant author to present his French dialect as a particular strength, Guernes remains unique. Whereas the Nun uses her dialect as the stage for a subtle riff on the nature of her particular monastic observance, Guernes puts his language to a much more pragmatic use, as the guarantor of his own authority and of his poem’s integrity. Guernes’s use of form to certify his narrative resonates with the innovations of the thirteenth-century prose historians analysed by Gabrielle Spiegel. In both cases, vernacular authors attempted to reshape their works according to their perceptions of authoritative Latin histories. The self-conscious vernacular histories of Anglo-Norman England, which already claimed a privileged relation to Latin learning and which addressed the problems of multilingualism in creative ways, determined Guernes’s strategy differently from the aristocratic courts of French Flanders.⁵⁰ If central French now owes its pre-eminence to the centralization of French administration and cultural life around Paris — contrary to the hopes of Spiegel’s aristocrats — it was not as a partisan of royal power that Guernes laid claim to his ‘good’

⁴⁹ See Legge, *Anglo-Norman*, pp. 63–64; Wogan-Browne, “Clerc u lai, muine u dame”, p. 63. For the ‘topos of affected modesty’ in medieval Latin, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), p. 83. According to Legge, the Nun is probably referring specifically to Gregory’s *De gloria beatorum confessorum*. It should also be pointed out that the Nun’s command over her Latin original is complete, and though she is not as eager as other Anglo-Norman writers to supplement her source with other Latin material, her linguistic competence ought not to be put in doubt.

⁵⁰ For the rise of vernacular prose historiography in Northern France, see Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, esp. pp. 55–98.

French. Guernes's good French was a practical and aesthetic consideration, and we must therefore revise the idea that Parisian French was automatically a mark of royal influence.

Guernes's attitude was also internationalist and multicultural. By putting Anglo-Norman history in the mouth of a Frenchman, Guernes integrated insular developments in vernacular writing within the self-conscious literary tradition that was getting underway on the Continent. A universalizing, co-Latinate and anti-Latinate history in the vernacular would have been unthinkable in the 1170s anywhere but in England; at the same time the peculiar requirements of a written authority led Guernes to accept central French as a French grammar. For Guernes, prestige was a matter of both sacramental privilege, in the case of Latin, and inaccessibility, in the case of Parisian French.

It is worth reflecting on the irony that despite my emphasis on the way in which central French might be understood as an artificial, foreign grammar, Guernes's election of the dialect is also a unifying gesture insofar as it attempted to 'translate' Anglo-Norman practices into Continental literature. And despite his support for the most radical elements in Becket's ecclesiastical programme, he is essentially involved in making the knowledge and authority that is assumed to belong to Latin circles available to vernacular audiences. Even in the prescriptivist Guernes then, we have yet another demonstration that linguistic boundaries in the Middle Ages are in constant flux, and that certain attitudes, like Guernes's firm conviction of clerical independence, can have unexpected sociolinguistic consequences.

INTRA-TEXTUAL MULTILINGUALISM AND SOCIAL / SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ANGLO-NORMAN

David Trotter

This paper will deal with the specific issue of intratextual multilingualism (language-mixing, perhaps also but not necessarily code-mixing or code-switching) in medieval texts. The main emphasis will be on the use of English in texts whose matrix language is Anglo-Norman. (The traditional, if not necessarily very accurate, term 'Anglo-Norman' is used throughout, for convenience.) The main rationale for looking at Middle English words in Anglo-Norman is that this side of the two-way process is less studied — for obvious reasons — than is the question of the transfer of Anglo-Norman/French words into Middle English. A third and final section of the paper looks at the process in the opposite direction, at the use of certain idioms in Middle English administrative documents which are clearly calqued on Anglo-Norman models.

Language-mixing has often been regarded as a disruption of the 'serial monolingualism' approach to language history, an aberration from the evolutionary process whereby Anglo-Saxon and Latin gave way to French, and French was in turn superseded by English. I shall argue that this perception is wrong, and that our understanding of the situation (rather, the process) which underlies it is also wrong, and that we need to think instead in terms of overlap, long-term coexistence, and gradual *displacement*, only then leading to *replacement*. That will be one aim of this paper.

Another will be to explore the relationship between the existence of multilingualism within texts (language-mixing) and the position of those texts on a perceived diaphasic and diastratic spectrum within Anglo-Norman. The terminology derives from that current in Romance linguistics and goes back via Eugenio Coseriu to the Norwegian linguist Leiv Flydal: diaphasic variation is variation of

register; diastratic variation is variation according to social class.¹ It will be obvious that these two forms of variation can easily coincide and may indeed be fairly hard to distinguish. Lower-register texts are more likely to be written by — or for — lower-class people than for kings and archbishops. More-educated people are likely to use higher stylistic levels of language; less-educated people have fewer registers of language at their disposal. An additional complication is that (at this distance from the source material) it is not an easy task to affix neat diaphasic and diastratic labels to texts.

A third dimension of this paper is to explore across documents within contemporary administrative series the lexical and stylistic influence of Anglo-Norman texts on their English successors. Clearly this is a feature associated with all texts which are more or less closely calqued on their predecessors.² The example I have chosen for this exercise is the *Rotuli Scotie*, a collection of Scottish Rolls in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and then English, and covering overall the period from 1291 to 1516.

Language Mixing and the Dynamics of Multilingualism

Medieval England is not as unique in medieval Europe as we sometimes think. Multilingualism was endemic in the Middle Ages, and often it still is — despite the best efforts of the nineteenth-century nation-state; modern research is belatedly beginning to recognize this with increasing numbers of publications and colloquia devoted to the subject. Multilingualism is often treated comparatively, which is invariably useful and frequently provocatively so. A growing literature is dealing with the problem in modern societies and a smaller, but nevertheless appreciable, effort is going into historical multilingualism.³ I have myself made some attempt to deal with the phenomenon in a number of non-insular contexts, notably in eastern French documents, in material from Gascony, and (perhaps of most relevance for my argument here) in documents from the Pyrenees, from Bordeaux, and

¹ E. Coseriu, “Historische Sprache” und “Dialekt”, in *Dialekt und Dialektologie: Ergebnisse des Internationalen Symposiums ‘Zur Theorie des Dialekts’, Marburg/Lahn, 5.–10. September 1977*, ed. by Joachim Göschel, Pavle Ivi, and Kurt Kehr (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 106–22.

² For Latin to French, cf. D. A. Trotter, ‘Traduction ou texte authentique? Le problème des chartes’, *Le Moyen Français*, 51–52–53 (1998), 593–611.

³ *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*, ed. by K. Braunmüller and G. Ferraresi (Amsterdam, 2003).

from the Gers.⁴ This last investigation led to a conclusion which seems — *mutatis mutandis* — equally applicable in the English context:

A factor which cannot be ignored is that a significant percentage of the documentation concerned is not monolingual. The underlying supposition is that one language gives way to another: the great significance with which Villers-Cotterêts [the 1539 decree imposing the exclusive use of French, instead of Latin, in legal documents] has been invested focuses minds on such transitions, but this may be misleading. Often texts in one language are intercalated into documents in another language, or (less frequently) nominally monolingual texts display elements of code-switching and language-mixing. These practices, widespread in multilingual societies whose documents necessarily follow (albeit at some distance) the variability of spoken usage, complicate very substantially any discussion of sociolinguistic change predicated on assumptions about shifts from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another. Even the limited evidence so far to hand for the later medieval period (1450–) hints at a situation which was far more fluid and far more promiscuous than is implied by the tidy serial monolingualism model.

In other words, there is not an orderly succession of separate languages, but much overlap, and perhaps even some confusion: modern linguistic labels (derived from a taxonomy constructed for a monolingual era) may or may not be applicable in the medieval context. The boundaries between lexicons shift as the lexicon of one language slowly mutates into the lexicon of another; the boundaries between languages are fluid, and they are sometimes invisible. Bilingualism itself is often characterized as either 'stable' or 'unstable':⁵ that is to say, it is either moving towards monolingualism (typically via, or aided and abetted by, diglossia) or it is accepted and relatively secure (which, confusingly, may, and often does, also imply diglossia). The obvious point is that languages in a bilingual (*a fortiori*, multilingual) situation

⁴ D. A. Trotter, 'Mossenhor, *fet metre aquesta letra en bon francés*: Anglo-French in Gascony', in *De mot en mot: Essays in Honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D. A. Trotter (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 199–222; D. A. Trotter, 'Some Lexical Gleanings from Anglo-French Gascony', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 114 (1998), 53–72; D. A. Trotter, 'Not as Eccentric as It Looks: Anglo-French and French French', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 39 (2003), 427–38; D. A. Trotter, 'Diastratische und Diaphasische Variation: Normierungstendenz und Unabhängigkeit in lothringischen Dokumenten des Mittelalters', in *Überlieferungs- und Aneignungsprozesse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert auf dem Gebiet der westmitteldeutschen und ostfranzösischen Urkunden- und Literatursprachen. Beiträge zum Dritten internationalen Urkundensprachen-Kolloquium vom 20.–22. Juni 2001 in Trier*, ed. by Kurt Gärtner and Günter Holtus (Trier, 2005), pp. 1–78; D. A. Trotter, 'Si le français n'y peut aller: Villers-Cotterêts and Mixed-language Documents from the Pyrenees', in *Conceptions of Europe in Renaissance France: A Festschrift for Keith Cameron*, ed. by David Cowling (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 77–97 (p. 81).

⁵ E.g. R. Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Oxford, 1986), p. 99.

are not immune to social and sociolinguistic pressures, or to the normal processes of change and changeability which characterize language itself. If this is so, then it is reasonable to suppose that what multilingualism usually represents is a stage in a process of change which typically occurs over what historians would call *la longue durée*. Bilingualism and multilingualism have almost invariably a political and sociological dimension which means that change occasioned by non-linguistic pressures or interventions can happen quite fast (Villers-Cotterêts had a serious impact in France).⁶ In the case of medieval Britain, Anglo-Norman was (for most of its lifespan) more prestigious than English, and Latin was (for a good deal longer) more prestigious than either of the vernaculars, and this is a dimension which we should not overlook. Multilingualism has its own dynamism, and (even if can be relatively stable) it is not often static. It is not so much a state as a *dynamic process* in medieval England. It is, in effect, what variationist linguists would call *change in progress*. Like most linguistic change, it takes not the form $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$ (one language replaces another, what I have called above ‘serial monolingualism’) but may be better represented according to a more complex formula:

$$\begin{aligned} &A + B \\ &\quad \rightarrow ([A] + B + C) \\ &\qquad \qquad \rightarrow ([A^2] + B + C) \\ &\qquad \qquad \qquad \rightarrow (A^3 + C) \\ &\qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \rightarrow A^4 \end{aligned}$$

where:

- A = Anglo-Saxon
- A² = Middle English
- A^{3/4} = Late Middle English/Early Modern English
- B = Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French
- C = Latin

Or, with the chronological axis superimposed:

pre-1066	1066–1250	1250–1450	1450	1500
A + B	[A] + B + C	[A ²] + B + C	A ³ + C	A ⁴

At the end of this process, change has taken place; that is, it is complete.⁷

⁶ Though cf. D. Hornsby, ‘Patriotism and Linguistic Purism in France: *Deux dialogues dans le nouveau langage françois* and *Parlez-vous Franglais?*’, *Journal of European Studies*, 28 (1998), 331–54, and Trotter, ‘*Si le français n’y peut aller*’.

⁷ R. Posner, *Linguistic Change in French* (Oxford, 1997).

In other words, different varieties coexist and only over time do two (in this case, Latin and Anglo-Norman) slowly get phased out. Intersecting with this evolution, and inseparable from the evolutionary model, is the second assumption: the existence of a relationship between variation and change. Clearly multilingualism is an example of (amongst other things) variation, at the macro language of which language is being used. The respective quanta of lexis notionally belonging to (or better, originating in) one language or another change over time, so there is variation in terms of which language dominates, which is the matrix language, which is the source of the borrowing, etc. Variation triggers and permits change: different forms (in this case, different languages) coexist and compete, and all but one will eventually disappear, although in the case which we are looking at, the species (English) which emerged triumphant at the end of this Darwinian process was irreversibly changed by its contact with other genetic components. The existence and nature of this process, allied to and promoted by social and political forces tending to favour one language over another, explains why multilingualism is unlikely to be a long-term, *longue durée*, option.

Multilingualism and the Diaphasic/Diastratic Continua

Getting satisfactorily to grips with variation in medieval texts is not easy. This is true for diachronic variation (texts are often difficult to date) and of diatopic variation (texts, especially literary texts, are notoriously hard to localize with precision). Yet the study of these two types of variation has at least been a central part of medievalists' and philologists' endeavours since (effectively) the start of the scientific investigation of the languages concerned. Diaphasic and diastratic variation are still more difficult to apprehend at more than six centuries' distance and they have not (or not until recently) played much of a part in the study of the Middle Ages, either in Britain or elsewhere. Issues of definition of register/style, and of the social provenance of the author/addressee, either or both of whom may play an important part in determining the linguistic level of a document,⁸ have inevitably an element of the speculative about them, and arguments that such-and-such a type

⁸ S. Lusignan, *La Langue des rois au Moyen Âge: Le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 2005); H. Völker, 'Chartes luxembourgeoises du XIII^e siècle: Scripta régionale, locale ou "individuelle"?', in *Actes du XXII^e Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Bruxelles, 23–29 juillet 1998*, ed. by A. Englebert and others (Tübingen, 2000), v, 159–66; *Skripta und Variation: Untersuchungen zur Negation und zur Substantivflexion in altfranzösischen Urkunden der Grafschaft Luxemburg (1237–1281)* (Tübingen, 2000).

of language is characteristic of documents of such-and-such a type can easily appear, and indeed can easily in fact be, rather circular.⁹

Nonetheless, with the resources currently available, it ought to be possible to gain some idea of the nature, scale, and scope of — for my purposes — Middle English words which surface in Anglo-Norman texts, and thus to explore the question of the type of text in which such borrowings occur. There follows a list which is predominantly derived from the Middle English words (so labelled) in two sample sections of the digitized *AND* (A–E, 2nd edition, *AND2*, 2005; P–Z), and amounting to some 430 words.¹⁰ This corresponds to (a) the latter part of *AND1* (the printed edition of which was published in 1977–92), that is, the section which benefited from the advent of the Collas materials bequeathed to Professor W. Rothwell, and the incorporation of substantially increased quantities of administrative and legal material, and (b) the start of the second edition, by which time greater awareness of multilingual material (in part driven by the work for *AND2* itself) had further enhanced the coverage of texts of this type. Unfortunately, language-labelling (or any other labelling) is neither comprehensive nor fully consistent in the *AND*. There are probably further words which will have been missed in this study and there are without a shadow of a doubt further words which the *AND* will have missed altogether. Nevertheless, the list below is surely representative of the range and scale of Middle English words attested in the *AND*, and thus present in Anglo-Norman texts, and certain general conclusions can be safely drawn from it, as long as the reader recognizes its limitations.

abbot; acorn; agilter; agis; aile; alderman; aldermanrie; alekonner; almesdich; almeshous; amis; andle; angeltuacte; angil; anointer; aquenee; arkethole; atte; audur; aukeward; aundire; auseres; auterclothe; axultre; bable; bacberand; bacgavel; backepipe; bagge; baghorse; baillewik; baiting; bakemete; baker¹; baker²; bakhous; bakstone; balaster; baloc; bar; barc; bargemen; barkere; bass; bauwestave; baxter; beche; bede; bedeman; beekene; begger¹; begger²; beltere; bem; bemfilling; benche; bene; bere; berewe; berris; bestinc; beter; bewet; biche; blak; blakerode; blaksmythe; blast; bleter; blobbe; blowet; boccher; bok; bokclaspe; bolkuppe; bolster; bolt; bolte; bonche; bondage; bonde; bonderie; bordcloth; bordnail; bordring; bortreminge; bosse; bost; bot; botel³; bothe; bothir; bougemaker; bower; bowestave; box; brache; brasse; braule; bremel; brese; brewer; brikaxe; brithengavel; brode¹; brode²; brome; brotherwort;

⁹ Trotter, 'Diastratische und Diaphasische Variation'.

¹⁰ *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, online at <<http://www.anglo-norman.net>> [accessed 12 June 2006].

brustere; bucecarle; buldre; bulk; bultinghous; bundelle; burgmot; burgtoll;
 burnisching; burre; butte; cache; cachebord; cachepole; cade; cake; calf;
 calfating; calking; camaca; cangon; cannemol; cantrede; capbordcloth; capmaker;
 cardeleve; carder; cardester; cardmaker; cartful; casement; cerke; chafer; chalking;
 chambring; chamelle; changing; chapman; chauffeurve; chepgavel; cheste; chex;
 chiewete; chipe; chofnet; chokke; chorling; chotnet; chunc; clapholt; claspe;
 clei; cleier; cleihous; clench; clenchingnail; clenser; clete; clevé; clewe; cliketkay;
 clipper; cloith; klokke; clotel; cloussake; clute; cnivet; cobeler; cobwolle; code;
 codnet; cogware; coiffetre; colering; compland; coper; copersmith; coppé; cork;
 corneman; cornerhous; cotnet; coupercraft; cousloppe; crache; cradel; craft;
 cranok; cress; croddes; croft; crone; cropleswort; crosseake; crossedrove;
 crostrestell; crouched; croudewain; crouler; crouther; crowe; crude; cruskin;
 crussel; culure; cupbonde; cupbord; curnel; dagger; dale; danelae; deere;
 delving; denegelde; denscot; desk; dier; digger; dimehide; dische; do; docke;
 dodekyn; dogget; dole; dom; doublinge; dragge¹; dragge²; dreggis; drincheil;
 dromme; drone; dross; drover; duche; duchman; dyke; ebbe; eching; efsebord;
 elect; elger; ell; elmenebord; elvinges; emboser; enfangethef; enginstone;
 enrollinge; epi; eppe; erde¹; erde²; erhei; erle; ern; ernald; erpikle; erpin;
 escaudinge; eschawinge; eschippe; escrivenner; escribing; eskeppe; eslinge;
 eslingur; espanse; espiceplate; espore; esproz; estai; esteire; esteple; estiward;
 estop; estot; estrande; estreitenés; estreme; estrete²; evelde; evenchepyng;
 everferne; ewerecloth; exiltre; extree; pacok; pakthred; pedder; peteresnet; pie;
 pilew; pinder; pleding; pol; popi; poullok; pridnet; pudrebox; pyebakere;
 querne; questmanger; racche; raftre; rag; raggeman; rakyer; rap²; rape; ras²; reed;
 regwort; rerebay; ripe²; ro¹; roberdesmen; rokestare; romir; rope; roper; rother;
 russhe; sadeler; saghier; saile; sailler; sale²; schaker; schaldre; scheaux; schrine;
 sclat; scogable; selin; semer¹; sextain; seylingpece; shamel; share; shereveyeld;
 shiriscote; shope; shrine; shroud; shyngel; skeine; skeppe; skimerie; skyrkette;
 skyve; slipstoun; smelt; sokeman; sokemanrie; sokereeve; souer; sparr; spat;
 spindlatte; spindler; sprete; stafstriker; stalker; steple; ster; stikke; stode;
 stokfish; stott; streme²; strete²; swainmot; takle; talwode; tankart; tapener;
 tapwin; tare²; telde; tete; tezel; thefbote; thein; thetche; thewe; thoroutol;
 thwertutnay; tide; tideman; tiket; tilepin; timbre³; tincler; tintol; toft; tolbothe;
 tolhus; towage; towe; tower; trater; trave¹; trave²; tritevele; trithing; trithinger;
 trome; tubbe; tup¹; turlu; twynlynge; tyer; tylescherd; veie²; vydele;
 wacheworde; wain; wal; walet; wan; wapentake; wardemot; wardwite;
 wartsilver; watche; waterbaille; watershad; wedowe; wedower; weigge;
 weiserjaunt; weiwodeware; welcumer; welke; wen; were¹; were²; werfe; werk;

wesseil; wesseiller; wharf; whele; whirlicole; withernam; wodeward; wodlark; wolveseved; worsted; wyremonger; yoman; zearn.

This is a substantial catalogue, but some general conclusions may be risked. Firstly, virtually none of these words appears in 'literary' texts: exceptions include *bable* (*Lum lais*);¹¹ *bedeman* (*Ancren*²); *beter* 'to bait' (*Guisch, Waldef*); *bremel* 'blackberry' (*Geanz*¹); *cachepole* (*Sz Med*); *cangon* 'fool' (*Ancren*¹, possibly a hapax?); *denscot* 'Danegeld' (*S Edw*² ANTS); *dogget* '?dogged' (*BOZ Cont, Enfances*); *drincheil* (GAIMAR, *Brut*³); *dyke* (*S Rich* ANTS); *ernald* 'earnest money' (*Lyric*); *eskeppe* 'basket' (*Vitas*); *eslinge* (*S Edm*); *eslingur* (*Liv Reis, FANT OUP*); *estrande* (*S Gile*); *tritevele* 'fifth of eight hell-hounds' (*BOZ Cont, S Clem*); *veie*² 'pair of scales' (*Ancren*¹, *Ancren*²); *welcumer* (*Ancren*²).

Secondly, only a limited number of English words are attested in Anglo-Norman texts dated before 1200, and often they are words from specific registers (law and shipping are prominent) which were presumably carried over (with, in the case of the law, the practices to which they refer) after the Conquest. Into this early (pre-1200) category fall the following: *bucecarle* 'sailor' (GAIMAR 5480); *cangon* 'fool' (*Ancren*¹ 141.9); *danelae* 'Danelaw' (*Leis Will* ANTS 298.17,1); *drincheil* 'response to toast' (GAIMAR 3805); *eslinge* (mil.) 'sling' (*S Edm* 310); *estai* (nav.) 'stay' (*S Gile* 893); *estrande* 'quay, wharf' (*S Gile* 1042); *pol* 'pool, pond' (*Best* 844); *rap*² 'rope' (*S Brend MUP* 461); *thein* 'thane, lord' (*Leis Will* 8.8); *veie*² 'balance, pair of scales' (*Ancren*¹ 43.17); *wain*¹ 'cart, waggon'; *Charle wain* (astron.) 'the Plough' (*Rom Chev* ANTS 4675); *were*¹ 'wergeld (sum paid to relatives of man killed, varying in amount according to his rank)' (*Leis Will* 8, 9); *wesseil* 'wassail' (GAIMAR 3805, *Cor* 548).

What may be deduced from these preliminary findings? Firstly, the use of Middle English in Anglo-Norman texts is overwhelmingly a phenomenon associated with non-literary material: accounts, inventories, administrative and medical documents. The majority of Middle English words which appear in such cases are substantives (as is usually the case with borrowings and single-lexeme switches), so perhaps it is no surprise that they crop up in texts which are concerned with concrete things. Secondly, most attestations come from exactly the same period when Anglo-Norman words were finding their way in droves into Middle English, the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this regard, the Anglo-Norman matrix-language evidence is the mirror image of the Middle English documents which

¹¹ Textual abbreviations are those used by *AND*: see most conveniently, <<http://www.anglo-norman.net/lot.shtml>>.

incorporate Anglo-Norman lexemes. Both types of text demonstrate conclusively the role of multilingualism, the scale of language-contact, and perhaps also the extent to which the process was natural, unremarkable, and unproblematic. In the main, outside the domains of glossing and medical code-switching texts,¹² Middle English words are not particularly signalled in Anglo-Norman texts, suggesting that — just like Anglo-Norman words going into English at the same time — the language boundaries were far from watertight. The question may even arise: were these really perceived as ‘foreign’ words? This is obviously a particularly pertinent question in the case of the transfer of Anglo-Norman words into English.¹³

This in turn provokes the question: what (if anything) motivates the ‘borrowing’ of Middle English in Anglo-Norman texts? The term ‘borrowing’ is itself problematic.¹⁴ It is not at all clear that (in the main) the Middle English ‘borrowings’ in Anglo-Norman texts are strictly ‘necessary’. Some patently refer to existing or coexisting or pre-existing Anglo-Saxon and Middle English realities, some (but not all that many) of which might have been hard to translate. But most of the words above had perfectly straightforward Anglo-Norman equivalents; so the use of a Middle English term is not driven by need, but is either a conscious choice or (and this is a more plausible default interpretation, given the almost complete absence of ‘flagging’ of such forms) a more-or-less unconscious appropriation of what was simply an available alternative. Either way, the implication is that the separation between the languages was wavering and perhaps that the concept of separate languages was itself breaking down. Ironically perhaps, multilingualism, by bringing the languages together, helps to create a new monolingualism.

Lexical and Stylistic Influence of Anglo-Norman Texts on their English Successors

The final section of this paper looks at a related problem: the extent to which Anglo-Norman administrative texts, in collections which typically contain Latin,

¹² T. Hunt, ‘Code-Switching in Medical Texts’, in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 131–47.

¹³ Cf. my ‘Language Labels, Language Change, and Lexis’, in *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, ed. by Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 43–61.

¹⁴ W. Rothwell, ‘Lexical Borrowing in a Medieval Context’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 63 (1980), 118–43.

then Anglo-Norman, then English documents, apparently serve as models for the English texts which tend to begin in the early fifteenth century. It is clear that influence occurs between Latin and French,¹⁵ where the Latin formulae of charters are picked up and translated verbatim into French which, as a result, is strongly calqued in syntax and lexis on its Latin precursors. It is a reasonable assumption that the same will happen with Anglo-Norman and English (and in fact, that Anglo-Norman can influence Latin, although that is not the concern here). To test this hypothesis, a document from the *Rotuli Scotie*, a collection of rolls concerning Scottish affairs and spanning the period 1291 to 1516, has been examined (see Appendix) and some of the more obvious expressions traced to Anglo-Norman texts. This is a bit more conclusive perhaps than the simple matter of lexical transfer from Anglo-Norman to English, exemplified for example in items (4) and (8) of the document. As would be expected — and as John Orr showed many years ago for less specifically administrative registers — the formulaic Anglo-Norman of the clerks infiltrates their English so that typically Anglo-Norman phrases such as *seurté et ease* (1), *seigneurs espirituels et temporels* (2), *membres et appartenantz* (3), *issues et profits* (5), *revenues et profits* (6), *custume et subside* (7), *rentes et fermes* (9) all surface virtually unchanged in English.¹⁶ In the same way that loan blends demonstrate a deep level of intermingling between the two languages,¹⁷ so too do idiomatic calques of this type reveal a wholesale incorporation into the target language of the source language's structures. In other words, this process is evidence of the extent to which whilst the language is English, its component parts are often still Anglo-Norman dressed up as English — in the same way that modern English legal documents are in fact written to a large extent in Anglo-Norman, masquerading (to the detriment of communication with non-lawyers) as English. Thus the legacy of multilingualism is not only a much-enhanced new, hybridized language — modern English — but also the continuation in that language of a good deal of the lexis of Anglo-Norman. Multilingualism may have led to monolingualism, but it is a monolingualism whose multilingual ancestry is still remarkably apparent.

¹⁵ Trotter, 'Traduction ou texte authentique?'.

¹⁶ J. Orr, *Old French and Modern English Idiom* (Oxford, 1962).

¹⁷ W. Rothwell, 'Aspects of Lexical and Morphosyntactical Mixing in the Languages of Medieval England', in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by Trotter, pp. 213–32; D. A. Trotter, 'The Anglo-French Lexis of the *Ancrene Wisse*: A Re-evaluation', in *A Companion to 'Ancrene Wisse'*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 83–101.

Appendix:

Rotuli Scotiae, II, 483–84 (10 February 1488)¹⁸

Actūs parliamenti pro salvâ custodiâ ville et castri regis de Bereico exemplificatio.

FOR ASMOCHE as the king oure sovereigne lord conceiveth well that the sure keping of the towne and castell of Berwik is a grete diffence ayenst the Scottes and a grete wele **suerte and ease** (1) unto all his realme and especiall to the northe parties of the same Therfor for the good and sure keping of the seid towne and castell BE IT ENACTED by the king oure sovereigne lord by advise of the **lordes spirituell and temporel** (2) and the commons in this present parliament assembled and thauctorite of þe same that suche persone or persones as the kinges highnes shall appoynte to be approuer or approwers or surveiouir or surveiouirs of the castels lordshippes and maners of Shiref Houtone Middlam Richemond Barnard Cotyngnam Sandall Hatfeld Conesbrough and Wakefeld with their **membres and appertenances** (3) to theym or to eny of theym belongyng and all other maners and lordshippes londes and tenementes of the kinges whiche late were of the inheritaunce of Richard duke of Yorke in the counte of Yorke the maners of Raskell Suttone Elvyngtone Esingwolde and Huby *with* thappertenances the fisshing tool and ferme of the towne and marches of Berwik *with* thappertenances shall have full auctorite and power to discharge and putte oute all officers **accomptauntes** (4) of every partie or parcell of eny of the seid lordshippes or eny of the premisses which they or any of them holdeth for *terme* of life *terme* of yere or at will and to make newe officers ther And also to leette and dismisse fermes ther for the *terme* of vij yerres and under And suche persone or persones as oure seid sovereigne lordes highnes shall assigne to receve **thissues and profites** (5) of the seid revenues yerly from the fest of Ester last past to thend of vij yere then next ensuing to suche persone or persones as the kinges highnes will assigne to receve the wages and fees for the sauf keping of the seid towne and castell shall pay and contente (*l. conte, or consente?*) the summe of xvij^c xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d at the festes of Michelmes and Ester by evene porcions of the fyrst **revenues and profites** (6) of the seid lordships and other premisses after all ordinarie charges deducte and the

¹⁸ The printed edition of this text, *Rotuli Scotiae* (London, 1814–19), retains manuscript abbreviations, rendering them by a series of bespoke typographical characters. These would have been difficult to reproduce and in any case, they simply make reading the text more difficult: to judge by the printed edition, the abbreviations are entirely conventional and thus easily decoded. Accordingly, they have been expanded, and the text italicized to show where this has been done.

collectours of the **custume and subside** (7) in and of the towne and porte of New Castell upone Tyne for the tyme being shall yerly from the feste of Ester last passed contente (*l. conte, or consente?*) & pay to the seid officer of the towne and castell of Berwik of the fyrst revenues of the custume and subsidie of the seid porte at the festes of Michelmas and Ester by evyne porceons by the space of the vij yere the *somme* of ccxxxv^{li} after / all ordenarie charges deducte therof of the which xviiij^c xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viiiij^d and ccxxxv^{li} or for asmoche as þe seid officer of the towne and castel aforeseid shall therof receive he shall verily make acompte afore the barons of the kinges Eschequour or afore such auditours as the kinges highnes will assigne And if þe seid recevour of the seid maner of Shirif Houtone or any of the premisses or any other **fermer baillif or officer** (8) of the same make payment to eny other user hereafter to eny persone afore the seid xviiij^c xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viiiij^d and the seid ordinarie charges be paide And if the seid collectour of the custume and subsidie aforereherd make payment hereafter to any other persone afore the seid *somme* of ccxxxv^{li} and the seid ordinarie charges be paide that the paiere of the seid *sommes* or eny parcell therof have none allowance therof And yet the seid payment to stone & be sufficient discharge for our sovereigne lord ayenst hym yat shall so receve it, Savyng to every of the kinges liege people such right title and lauffull interesse as they or eny of them have in any of the premisses other then fermours and officers accomptautes in like wise as if this acte hadde not bene made ALSO BE IT ORDEIGNED by the same auctorite that all fermours tennautes & occupiers of the premisses and every parte therof have such emblementis and cornis as beene sowone theropponne paying ther resonablis **rentis and fermes** (9) for the same.

(1) *ease et seurté*, 3 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(2) *seigneurs (e)spirituels et temporels*, c. 50 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(3) *membres et appartenantz*, 4 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(5) *issues et profits*, c. 50 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(6) *revenues et profits*, 11 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(7) *custume et subside*, 22 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

(9) *rentes et fermes*, 5 occurrences in *Rot Parl*

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